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BRITISH RELATIONS

WITH THE

CHINESE EMPIRE

IN 1832.

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT

OF THE

ENGLISH AND AMERICAN TRADE

WITH

India and Canton.

LONDON:

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"The leading purposes which trade and commerce, and consequently every buisness and profession which exists by being subsidiary to them, appears destined by the will of Providence, to answer; are, to promote the cultivation of the earth,—to call forth into use its hidden treasures,—to excite and sharpen the inventive industry of man,—to unite the whole human race in bonds of fraternal connection,—to augment their comforts and alleviate their wants by an interchange of commodities superfluous to the original possessors,—to open a way for the progress of civilization, for the diffusion of learning,—for the extension of science, for the reception of Christianity,—and thus to forward that ultimate end to which all the designs and dispensations of God, like rays converging to a central point, seems evidently directed—the increase of the sum of human happiness."—Gibbon.

LONDON:

W. MOLINEUX, ROLLS PRINTING OFFICE,

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Opinions Respecting the Chinese, and the East India Company's Trade.

"The question of an open trade with China ought not to be discussed as a *hostile* question between the East India Company and the country. Of the separate interests of the Company I should say, that they must be weighed and considered as connected with, and as subordinate to, the general interests of the country; but it does not, therefore, follow, that every thing *taken from* the Company would be necessarily gained to the country at large, or that what may be *left in their hands* may not be left there as much for the *benefit of the country as their own*."—*Mr. Canning's Speeches at Liverpool.*

"There are *strong positive arguments* against the removal of the restrictions on the Chinese trade. Of these a considerable class is founded on the peculiar delicacy and difficulty of our commercial connexion with China, resulting from the singular compound of pride, punctiliousness, severity, timidity, and ignorance, in the character and policy of that state."—*Right Hon. Robert Grant's Works.*

"The Chinese are indeed a *jealous and unsocial people*, and are FAR FROM HAVING ARRIVED at that point of civilisation when men are prompted, by their passion for gain, to get rid of some share of their *antipathy to strangers*, and to perceive the benefits of a *foreign commerce!*"—*Crawfurd's Indian Archipelago*, pp. 169.

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PREFACE.

In the publication of well-authenticated statements, the *name* of an author is unnecessary; and a consciousness of its unimportance in the present instance is the sole reason for its not being obtruded on the public. It may be sufficient to observe, that the writer of the following pages has passed the last eleven years of his life in visiting every quarter of the globe, and the colonial possessions of Great Britain, in order to acquire an intimate knowledge of her commercial affairs, for political purposes. It may be further added, in order to prevent undue motives being attributed, that the author is now advocating the cause of Parliamentary Reform, and a *real* reciprocity of trade, with as much strenuousness as he condemns the visionary projects, and confutes, with the aid of the most convincing facts, the vague assertions of those, who, apparently without the slightest regard for the relations of society or the indefeasible rights of individuals, are labouring to subvert the regulations by which the China trade is at present carried on.

To the calm decision of Parliament, this important branch of commerce of the country is now confided, and the author is of opinion, that many members of the

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legislature who think that the exclusive immunities possessed by the East India Company, (which they have entitled themselves to, by the exercise of unwearied assiduity and consummate ability during a long course of years), should be abrogated—that they will, on mature consideration, agree with him, that neither a prudent policy—nor prospective hopes—nor an ideal anticipation of increased wealth, can by any possibility justify the British legislature or government in abrogating privileges which have hitherto been used for the advantage of the public and the interest of the state;—for *thus*, confidence in national honour and faith would be swept away, and that union of capital, purpose and skill, which is as necessary in a vast commercial undertaking, as combination is in a grand political project, would be severed, never, most probably, to be renewed. To a commercial union of wealth, and a co-operation of talent and patriotism, a small island in the Western Atlantic is indebted for the acquisition of one of the most splendid empires that ever was subjected to the dominion of man, and also for the rise and progress of an extraordinary commerce with a people inhabiting a distant hemisphere, and heretofore shut out from all intercourse with the majority of the human race;—a commerce equal in extent to 10,000,000*l.* annually, and involving property to the amount of upwards of ten times that sum!

Unless it be by reason of that incomprehensible fatality, which seems blindly to urge onwards kingdoms,

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as well as individuals, to their ruin, and which the Ancients so well comprehended when they exclaimed—

> "*Quos Deus vult perdere prius dementat!*"

It cannot be believed that the principles of gratitude, the dictates of wisdom, and even common sense, have departed from this land in which they were once supposed to hold their favoured abode: Should this magnificent empire, on which the solar orb never sets, crumble into atoms, as did the realms of Babylon, Nineveh, Assyria, Egypt, Carthage and Rome, and

> ———"*Like the baseless fabric of a vision*
> Leave not a wreck behind,"

its downfall will be occasioned by its own acts,—by its suicidal decrees,—by attempting to extend its power beyond the limits assigned by Providence to all earthly things,—by, in fact, building up a moral Frankenstein, which will crush with its own weight the being that created it! On the minds of His Majesty's Ministers, the Peers and Commons in Parliament assembled, and on the reflecting portion of the people of Great Britain (an island which the Author can neither claim as his birth place, nor consider as his home), he would endeavour to impress the dying language of one of the wisest of the Cæsars, when he implored his countrymen "to keep the empire of the purple within its just and natural boundaries,"—an advice, which being disregarded, was

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speedily followed by the overthrow of the proud and widely conquering mistress of the world.

Let England—England, in whose very name is all the eloquence of virtue and all the majesty of might—let her disdain the fearful examples of past ages, and the serious warnings of the present, and she also will fall from the stupendous pyramid on which she now sits enthroned, and become the Niobe of nations, weeping for her children, and not to be comforted!

London, 1832.

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BRITISH RELATIONS

WITH THE

CHINESE EMPIRE.

STATE OF THE CANTON AND INDIA TRADE.

CHAP. I.

There never was a period in the annals of Great Britain, when it was more imperatively the duty of the Legislature to deliberate well ere they sanction innovation on the long established commercial relations of a country, in an artificial state of society, having conflicting views and adverse interests. The bright visions of prosperity indulged in by Lord Goderich in 1825,—the glowing anticipations of unbounded wealth entertained by the late Lord Liverpool and Mr. Canning, and the golden dreams of universal free trade, in which Mr. Huskisson revelled, have all vanished and left a gloomy reality of woe and wretchedness in their stead. The ship-owners' business, which ought to be the best criterion of a flourishing mercantile commerce, has reached such an alarming state of distress and despondency, that a petition has been presented to his Majesty, declaring that "*a large portion of their capital has been annihilated during the last fifteen years, and the remainder become unsaleable except at a ruinous loss!*" In like manner, the silk-weavers, and every branch of manufacturers, who have been at all exposed to the operation of the theories of free trade, have experienced therefrom the most deplorable results, and they are in consequence now loudly calling *for protecting duties.*

I by no means advocate protecting duties, exclusive privileges, or monopolies; but, until the *English* silk weaver can be placed ON A LEVEL with the *Lyons* silk weaver by the removal of the *Bread Tax* and other imposts, I can see no advantage or justice in setting them up like

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prize fighters to destroy each other; or for one to be beggared at the expense of another; and while the English ship-owner is subjected to taxes on timber, copper, hemp, canvass, provisions, &c., necessitated to pay high wages to his crew, to receive apprentices, hire a surgeon, and comply with severe restrictions, I think it equally unfair that he should be subjected to *open competition* with the almost *untaxed* foreigner:—and as regards the China trade, it shall be shewn that the term "monopoly" is unjustly applied to it; for although the East India Company can alone import tea, they cannot choose their own time of sale; they are compelled to put up the tea at an advance of *one penny* (*they do at one farthing*) per lb.; they are obliged to have twelve months' stock in hand; and while the tea in America has *increased in price* and diminished in consumption, the *very reverse* has taken place in England, as *official returns* prove!

The United States of N. America possessing, in an eminent degree, a greater latitude of political freedom than any other power,—an almost undefinable extent of fertile, uncultivated land,—a highly industrious and intelligent population of 13,000,000,—no national debt*, and a large surplus revenue†,—even they reject the delusive theory of "*free trade,*"—establish a rigorous national tariff, and, after several years' experience, announce, that under its salutary protection "*commercial enterprize fills their ship-yards with new constructions, encourages all the arts and branches of industry connected with them, crowds the wharfs of their cities with vessels, and covers the most distant seas with their canvass; that manufactures have been established, in which the funds of the capitalist find a profitable investment, and which give employment to a numerous and increasing body of dexterous mechanics who are rewarded by high wages, &c.*"‡

* It will be all paid off this year.

† The revenue of 1831 was 27,700,000 Spanish dollars; the expenditure for all government purposes 14,700,000*l.*! whereas in England the government have, at last, announced that the sinking fund is at an end, and the expenditure far *exceeds* the revenue!

‡ Message to Congress, 6th December, 1831.

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This is a startling *exposé* of what are termed *exclusive privileges*, and however *contrary* it may be to the *theory* of political economists, the Americans, fortunately for them, find it in *unison* with the *principles* of mercantile policy. As if in mockery of the dogmas of Professor Mc Culloch & Co., Russia, the paragon of absolutism, has followed the example of democratic* America, (with whom the autocrat is in close alliance), and adopted an almost prohibitory tariff against England; Spain, too, contemns the reciprocity treaty of 1828, and even liberal France, notwithstanding her immense sacrifices for freedom, cannot be prevailed on to admit a free trade in commerce, as well as in politics: yet it is at such a moment that the parliament is sagely petitioned to *force an open trade* with China,—a vast empire (as M. Klaproth says) that " presents the very remarkable spectacle of *a civilization entirely political*, whose principal aim has constantly been to draw closer the bonds which unite the society it formed, and to merge, by its laws, the interest of the individual in that of the public;"—an empire possessing an active, skilful, and contented population of 155,000,000 souls † who are spread over 1,372,450 square miles ‡ of the fairest and, probably, earliest inhabited region of the globe — that maintains a *standing army* of 1,182,000 men, and levies a revenue of only 11,649,912*l.* sterling,—an empire that has preserved the records of its dominion and the integrity of its name from a period of three thousand years antecedent to our era,§ while the most powerful monarchies of remote or modern ages have dwindled into nothingness, or been borne towards the ocean of eternity, by the swiftly destructive gulph of time, — an empire whose people have materially con-

* The word "*democratic*" is used as synonimous with "*intelligent*," not in the disparaging sense in which it is so frequently applied; for the greater portion of intellect among a people, the more democratic they will become; hence, manufacturers appreciate liberty better than agriculturists.

† Vide Appendix: A table of population, territory, revenue, &c.

‡ Exclusive of Tartary and the dependent provinces.

§ Vide M. Klaproth on " Chinese History and Antiquity."

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tributed to advance the civilization of Europe and America, by the discovery of the most useful arts and sciences, such as, writing,* astronomy, the mariner's compass, gunpowder, sugar, silk, porcelaine, the smelting and combination of metals, — and, in fine, enjoying within its own territories all the necessaries and conveniences, and most of the luxuries of life; standing, as it proudly asserts, in no need of intercourse with other countries,† which it is its studied policy to prohibit,‡ openly and arrogantly proclaims its total independence of every nation in the world!

Before proceeding to enquire *who* are the advocates of a *forced free trade* with so anomalous a state "whose character and policy" (as described by the Right Honourable Rt. Grant) "form a singular compound of pride, punctiliousness, severity, timidity, and ignorance,"—and *what* are the arguments by which they support their doctrines, let us briefly survey the position of the East India Company at Canton.

At one of those mysterious epochs when mankind seem to be urged by an all pervading impulse in search of happiness, riches, or renown, the waters of the mighty Pacific were explored by the adventurous spirit of De Gama, who, in doubling the "Cape of Storms," may be said to have discovered a new world, in order to stimulate the torpid enterprise of the old.‖ Soon the daring genius—the investigating skill and unwearied perseverance of the British character, were developed in establishing dominions in the fertile regions of the east, and in opening commercial relations with almost unknown races of men, among

* A celebrated Hungarian, named Cosmös de Körös has lately discovered in a Thibetian monastery, where he has been engaged translating an Encyclopædia, that *lithography* and *moveable wooden types* were known to the Chinese many centuries ago!

† A Chinese who leaves his county is considered as a traitor, and is punished with death if he ever return to it.

‡ The grand maxim of Confucius is, "to despise foreign commodities."

‖ In 1517 A.D., Emanuel, King of Portugal, sent a fleet of eight ships to China, and an ambassador to Pekin, who, I suppose, performed the *kotow*, for he obtained permission to open a trade.

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whom new wants might naturally be supposed to spring up, in their progress to the enjoyment of social life. A mercantile association of Englishmen, (which association, in magnitude of design, heroism of action, and profundity of talent, has never yet had a parallel,) became, by the extraordinary, and indeed, inscrutable decrees of Providence, the sovereigns of the peninsula of Asia, embracing territory equal in wealth, population, and resources, to every kingdom in Europe.

With the natural desire of discovering fresh sources of trade, and fulfilling the purposes of their incorporation, so eloquently described by Gibbon,* the East India Company, in 1668, ordered "*one hundred pounds weight of goode tey*" to be sent home on speculation.† A taste for the Chinese herb was created, and carefully fostered;‡—the invoice was increased from year to year, until it now amounts to 30,000,000 pounds weight, (notwithstanding the excessive duty of 100 per cent. and the onerous restrictions of the commutation act, since 1784) yielding an annual revenue to government, on a *luxury of life*, of about 3,300,000*l.* sterling, with scarcely any trouble or expense in the collecting;—employing 35,000 tons of the finest shipping,‖—requiring annually nearly

* Vide introductory quotation.

† In 1669 the East India Company received two cannisters of tea they had ordered, amounting to 143½lbs.; they came *via* Bantam:—there does not appear to have been then any direct intercourse with the Chinese, for in 1634, some English ships having visited Canton, a rupture and battle took place almost immediately, which was followed by an interdict against trading with them for some time. The earliest record that we can find of the East India Company opening a commerce with China, and sending a ship *direct* thither is dated 1680.

‡ In 1678 the East India Company imported 4,713lbs. of tea from China, but this, then large amount, proved a glut in the market, as the imports of tea for the ensuing six years amounted in all to only 318lbs. We shall subsequently demonstrate how judiciously the trade has been managed.

‖ During a period of 17 years, not one homeward bound Company's ship has been lost. In war time they are so ably manned and armed, as to be capable of each repelling the attack of a 32 gun frigate.

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1,000,000*l.* sterling worth of cotton, woollen, and iron manufactures, and affording employment to a numerous class of society, for the wholesale and retail dealing in a leaf collected on the mountains of a distant continent!

To enable them the better to prosecute this valuable commerce, the East India Company sought and obtained permission to build a factory at Cantòn, where their agents were permitted to reside six months in the year—a favour specifically accorded as a matter of compassion to foreigners, who are carefully debarred all intercourse with the interior of the country; a dread being entertained that the introduction of Europeans to settle in China, would lead (according also to ancient prophecy) to the total subversion of the empire.

Other branches of trade were subsequently added to that of tea. In 1773, the East India Company made a small adventure of opium* from Bengal to Canton; and the consumption of opium increased as rapidly among the Chinese, as tea did among the English, until it now yields (although a contraband trade,) 14,000,000 Spanish dollars annually,† and pays a revenue to the Indian government of 1,800,000 sterling! This trade, scarcely less extraordinary than that of the Chinese herb, is one, *be it remembered,* if there be *any gratitude left* in England, for which Great Britain also stands indebted to the East India Company. Raw cotton forms another extensive article of export to China; ‡ it is in general a less profitable remittance than bills of exchange, but the exportation is encouraged for the benefit of the Indian territories.

From the foregoing slight sketch, some idea may be formed of the complicated relations of the China trade, even so far as is dependent on ourselves, which form but a portion of the difficulties, as will be hereafter seen, with

* The Chinese use this stimulant as we do wine or spirits, and with perhaps, less deleterious consequences to their health, and less evil results to their morals.

† About 7,000,000 of which, or bars or moulds of silver to that amount, are sent to India, the Chinese being unable to make sufficient return in merchandize. This remittance is of material assistance in helping to provide funds on the spot for the purchase of tea.

‡ In 1830 it amounted to 63,229,700 lbs. valued at 5,554,875 dollars

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which it is encompassed. I will now enter on an examination of the arguments, or more properly speaking, assertions of one or two interested and disappointed individuals, who have been for some time influencing the pecuniary feelings of the public, by holding forth an *el Dorado* in China, if a free trade be established. They do not of course stop to consider whether the Chinese themselves will permit the innovation desired, and in drawing a conclusion, by reason of the increased trade with India, produced by the commercial spirit of the age, an unexampled general peace, and the powers of machinery, they forget, or rather purposely overlook, that Hindostan is a portion of the British dominions, where millions of subjects are compelled to receive English manufactures free of duty, while the raw produce, and manufactures of the Hindoos are, with a few exceptions of the former, virtually excluded from the ports of the United Kingdom; while on the contrary, the Chinese are a haughty and independent race of people, whose commercial policy it is to prohibit, as much as possible, every species of manufactures* and bullion; and encourage the importation of food, and raw produce; holding themselves aloof from Europeans, and particularly jealous of Great Britain, on account of the proximity of her Indian Empire; exacting upwards of 1000*l.* in fees and port dues† on each foreign vessel that enters Canton, the only harbour to which they are admitted,‡ imposing severe sea and inland customs and regulations regarding woollen and other manufactures, entirely interdicting some branches of trade, and permitting all by

* A late No. of the "Canton Register," mentions a fact, which is one instance out of many, of the desire to be independent of foreigners; it is as follows:—"Prussian blue, an article which was formerly brought in *considerable quantities from England*, is now *totally shut out* from the list of imports, in consequence of its mode of manufacture being *acquired by a Chinaman in London;* and from timely improvement it has been brought to that perfection which renders the *consumers independent of foreign supply!*"

† The port dues on a vessel of 1000 or of 100 tons are *alike!*

‡ The Chinese will not admit a foreign nation to trade at two places; for instance, the Russians are excluded from Canton because they enjoy an overland trade at Kiachta, which is 4,311 miles from St. Petersburgh, and 1,014 miles distant from Pekin.

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sufferance, or as a matter of favour rather than from necessity, or by right;* yet this is the nation which the industrious people of England have been so much cajoled about, when they have been assured that China presents a mine of wealth, which only requires scraping the surface for, if the East India Company's Charter be abolished!

At the head of the opponents of the East India Company may be placed Mr. Crawfurd, not on account of his possessing a very high range of intellect, but because his opposition has been distinguished by a violence of language only equalled by a distortion of facts.† A pamphlet that this gentleman has issued, entitled "*The Chinese Monopoly examined,*" being looked up to as containing every argument which can be brought to bear against the present method of carrying on the Canton trade, and its having every mark of being an elaborate production, a refutation of it may be deemed conclusive, by those over whose minds calm reasoning will obtain a more permanent sway, than the flippancy of style, or speciousness of language, in which the pamphlet alluded to is couched.

Mr. Crawfurd commences with a sneer at the "*disinterested* productions which are poured forth in a full, but foul stream, in favour of the East India Company." A reference to Mr. C's political agency life will not certainly cause *him* to be accused of "*disinterestedness,*" and if the result of the first display of hostility against the Company, as evidenced in the *finale* of the *Calcutta* (or as it was artfully termed, the *Indian* stamp act) be taken as a prognostic, we might have little cause to suppose that his present efforts will be more successful, were it not known that an impoverished people are too apt to grasp at

* *Home manufactured* woollens are prescribed by the Chinese government to be worn on public occasions; from 12*d.* to 16*d.* per yard, is charged as duty on foreign woollens in the interior; while the trade in them through Russia has been stopped by a tariff, which imposes from 6*s.* to 7*s.* per yard on English woollens, while Prussian woollens are admitted to pass through Russia at less than *half that amount!*

† The writer's name will be afforded to Mr. C. when he requires it.

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ideal advantages,—to snatch at the shadow, and to drop the substance.

Before the Burmese war the finances of the East India Company were in a prosperous state; but when the threatenings of the wily Burmah had begun to alarm the numerous native population of Calcutta, who sought to remove their wealth within the protection of the guns of Fort William, the Bengal government, with a promptitude deserving of more credit than it has obtained, diverted a hostile attack from the capital of India by the invasion of Rangoon. During a protracted war, the government spent a great deal of money, which found its way into the pockets of the merchants, ship-owners, and traders of Calcutta, many of whom made large fortunes in an incredibly short space of time. The contest being at last brought to a conclusion with safety to our Indian territories and honour to the British name, it was natural to seek some mode of reimbursement for the outlay of 12,000,000*l.* which had been required, and accordingly a moderate stamp act, legalised by Parliament, was had recourse to *within the limits of the city of Calcutta, the English merchants in which were the principal benefitters by the war.* Instantly an alarm was raised—like landsmen after a storm,—

When the danger was over and all things righted,
The war was forgotten, and the Company slighted.

A meeting was convened; lawyers, venerable neither for years nor experience, pronounced a decree as immutable as the laws of the Medes and Persians, relative to the *illegality* of the stamp act, which, as I before said, it was cunningly resolved to denominate the "*Indian Stamp Act,*" (although the Hindoos and British residents beyond the Mahratta Ditch of Calcutta were, it was well known, long previous subject to a stamp duty) ;—in a brief period 3000*l.* were subscribed, and Mr. Crawfurd, instead of remaining in the medical service of the East India Company, or retiring on the pension due to his reputed services,* returned to England as agent for the petitioners

* At the utmost not more than £500 a year.

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against the "arbitrary acts of the government," with a salary of 1500*l.* a year, his passage home paid, and his expense for printing pamphlets, &c. provided for. This was "*disinterestedness*" with a vengeance!

In a petition sent to Parliament on the subject, and which I regret to say was signed by several respectable merchants in the city of London, who were doubtless unconscious of the fact, a shameful statement was put forth which ought to make the legislature deliberate well before they decide on all documents coming from the same quarter: it was, that *the native merchants were about to flee from Calcutta if the stamp act were not immediately rescinded.*

Several years have since elapsed—the stamp act has not been rescinded—its *legality* has been proved—its justice generally admitted—the native merchants have *not one* left Calcutta—with the exception of *two* or perhaps *three, out of many hundreds,* they have *not even petitioned* against it; and Mr. Crawfurd has been converted from a Calcutta stamp agent, into a Liverpool China trade agent and a well-paid advocate against the East India Company.

Such having been the result of the outcry against the Calcutta Stamp Act, we may, we hope, predicate a similar issue to the Canton business; but before quitting this branch of the subject, let us enquire what can be said of an individual who has received nearly 50,000*l.* from the East India Company, and then turns round seeking their destruction? Are there no ties which bind society together but what a levelling spirit would immolate at the Moloch of self? How many persons are there in that service to which Mr. Crawfurd has become a renegade, who are far his superiors in talent and capabilities, yet are necessitated to drag on life in the obscure station from which he was raised by the kindness of his employers? How many enfeebled pensioners, and widows and orphans of Indian heroes, and learned and scientific characters, who are dependant for their pensions on the continuance of that very trade which their quondam compatriot is now labouring to annihilate? In fine, can there be any justification for the servant who has

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lived and thrived under the protection of a generous master for nearly a quarter of a century—who had been advanced to posts of honour and distinction much, very much, above his merits; but who, nevertheless, acted like the adder, which, when warmed into existence, stung the bosom that had animated it? The solution of these queries are left to Mr. Crawfurd* and the public;—I proceed with his pamphlet.

To attempt to review *seriatim* the production before me would be impossible; it is a mass of incongruity, tautology, and inconsistency. In corroboration of this remark I will place *three passages only* in juxta position; many others might be selected, but these will serve as a sample of the arguments brought against the East India Company.

"We shall insist upon having *cheap* teas and an ample supply of them, and we shall insist upon paying for them in the *produce of British industry*" (manufactures).—p. 66.—"Chinese Monoply examined."—Ridgway.

"The Americans and all other free traders buy their teas, not by barter, but, like civilized men, *with money*, and they obtain them at their *necessary and natural price*"!—p. 54.

"The Chinese will only take British manufactures in proportion as we take the products of China in return."—"In 1828 the manufactures *exported* to China by the E. I. Company amounted to 863,494*l*. sterling, while the tea *imported* from China cost 3,853,367*l*.–3,000,000*l* of which ought to have been remitted to China in British merchandise!"—p. 67.

What a beautiful specimen of consistency! First, we *must have cheap teas*, and an *ample supply of them*, and we must insist on paying for them with *manufactures*. Although the Americans, "like civilized men," find they *must pay money* in order to obtain the "*necessary*" quantity

* An idea may be formed of Mr. Crawfurd's high qualification for a statesman or a legislator; he is one of that class of politicians who jump at conclusions without caring what they demolish in their progress. He was strongly in favour of annihilating the Cape of Good Hope wine trade and the Canada timber trade by one stroke of Lord Althorp's pen; and equally so for letting the West India planters and their slaves perish, in order to carry into effect the foreign sugar refinery bill. These are indications of his commercial wisdo

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at a "natural price;" and yet at pages 67, 33, 34, and many other places, the Company are censured for not *exporting more manufactures*, instead of using specie or bills of exchange! At page 53 they are accused of purchasing their teas *by barter* with the Hong, and at p. 24 the Company are blamed for having expended 1,668,103*l.* sterling, in the space of 26 years, in order if possible *to extend the consumption of British manufactures in China!!*

The efforts of the East India Company to encrease the exportation of British manufactures to China have been unceasing, even at an early period of the trade.

East India Company's Exports to China.

	Bullion.	Merchandise.
In 1708	£32,387	£1,571
1805	£200,000	£1,114,484.
From 1816 to 1827	£354,389	£9,377,996

I find also the value of articles exported by the East India Company from 1812 to 1820, the *growth* or *production* of the United Kingdom was,—

Merchandize for sale £10,482,150. Stores £3,185,868!

In the year 1822, the East India Company lost five hundred thousand pounds sterling, by the burning of their factory at Canton, *three fifths* of this sum was in *woollen manufactures* imported from England! As regards the endeavours of the East India Company to obtain *a high reputation for the British manufacturer* in the vast regions of the east, which as our tradesmen well know is a most important point, and more permanently efficient than even extensive forced sales of cheap goods, I will quote an authority that Mr. Crawfurd announces to be "*a most comprehensive, and a most judicious writer*," namely, Mr. Hamilton, the upright and intelligent author of the East India Gazetteer, who paid the following tribute to the merits of the East India Company. "The probity, punctuality, and credit of the East India Company, and their agents, is known to be such by the Chinese, that *their goods* are taken away as *to quality and quantity for what they are declared in the invoice*, and the bales, with *their mark*, pass

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in trade, without examination, *through many hands*, and over an *immense extent of country*, and are *never opened* until they reach the shop of the person who sells for actual consumption!"*—*Hamilton's East India Gazetteer*.

Of the gross mis-statements of Mr. Crawfurd the examples are painfully numerous,—indeed, in his *ultra* zeal he sometimes quite forgets that his readers possess common sense. At page 60, he says the salaries paid by the Company to their servants at Canton, are "too plainly taken out of the *pockets of the starving* population of England, and therefore he (Mr. Crawfurd) has a good right to complain of so monstrous and intolerable a nuisance"! The public will hear with astonishment, that a *starving population* have money in their pockets for the East India Company to rob them of, yet I regret to say this is but one of the many improper observations in which the work abounds. At page 68, the East India Company are charged with destroying "*the happiness and morals of the British nation;*" and of driving the *starving men and women to gin shops!* No doubt the starving silk-weaver of Spitalfields or Coventry would think his "*happiness*" complete, if he possessed an oz. of Bohea instead of a pound of bread and beef, or a pot of porter; and as to "*morals*," it is certainly easy to show that the dreadful crimes of incendiarism and burking in England, and of open murder in Ireland, have their grand origin in the perpetrators of them being insufficiently supplied with tea morning and evening!

In truth it is a sad waste of time to reply to such absurd galimatias; let us therefore turn to something like an argument, and in which Mr. Crawfurd is supported by Mr. Rickards and a few others; it is, that if the East India Company's exclusive tea-trade were abolished, the consumption of tea in the United Kingdom would be nearly doubled, and the English would become the carriers of it to different ports in Europe.

It becomes a serious duty to investigate on what

* Some American merchants have taken advantage of the high reputation in which the company's manufactures are held, and they have goods made bearing *exactly the same marks!*

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grounds such an expectation can be indulged in,—whether there be any reasonable probability of such a valuable accession to our commerce, and if the hypothesis be built on any, or on correct data. The Legislature are the more impelled to this inquiry, because the subject has not sufficiently engrossed the attention of the advocates or opponents of the East India Company, and because indeed a probable extended use of tea would in reality form a most cogent argument for throwing open the trade; for as regards the circumstance of there being an excess of price in England, on the same article in America, it must be borne in mind that the two countries are widely dissimilar in *taxation*, in the one it being nearly nominal; in the other most oppressive, which together with other circumstances, hereafter to be mentioned, render it dubious whether the price of tea could be equalised in the two countries; and as respects the carrying trade to Europe, the Americans have made nothing by it, with their cheap ships and low freights; besides, other nations can go to Canton and purchase as much tea as they desire for themselves.

In order to arrive at a just conclusion, we must consider that tea cannot be ranked as a *necessary of life;* it is simply a refreshing beverage, devoid of nutriment, introduced by fashion and upheld by custom, and it is by no means a decided question, whether its continued use be conducive to longevity—physical strength—mental developement, or vice versa. Unlike many other articles its consumption is not sensibly increased by habit or time, the consumer of wine, spirits, ale, tobacco or opium will generally, according to his means, augment almost daily the quantity of the stimulant he uses; but few individuals will require more tea at 50, than at 30 years of age. Several circumstances have combined to keep up the price and use of tea in England, among which may be mentioned the high charge for malt, spirituous and vinous liquors, and the excessive taxation on coffee and sugar, in proportion however as these have diminished in cost, by reducing the duty, so has the consumption augmented, I am therefore justified in inferring that when on the reduction of the malt duty, the labouring classes

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can obtain abundance of wholesome nutritious beverage at a much cheaper rate than at present; and the middling ranks of society plenty of coffee, cocoa and sugar, there will not only be *no increased* consumption of tea, but on the contrary *a diminished use* of that article, and that even a very large importation, would have no material effect on the public taste. I am supported in this opinion by indisputable facts. Mr. Crawfurd admits that the consumption of tea in the United Kingdom in the year 1787, was one pound, *three ounces, and fourteen drachms* per head, while forty five years after, instead of increasing it has *decreased* to 1lb. 1oz. 12dr. per head, and I may add, notwithstanding that since the former period the *price* of tea has been considerably *lessened*, and the importation of the sorts most used *sextupled* !*

America, where there is no monopoly, (as it is absurdly termed) corroborates strongly our views for Mr. Joshua Bates, an American gentleman stated in his evidence before Parliament, that there were exported from Canton to the United States in 1827-28 chests of tea to the number of 102,000, but that in 1828-29 the quantity imported was only 80,000 chests ;—that the tea trade has been for several years an "unprofitable one," and the "attempt to import much tea, with all the pretensions to superior skill in judging of it, or in assorting it, *failed*." Mr. Bates adds, that the American returns of teas to the continent, "are generally not profitable." From an official report, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, I find the importations of tea into the United States, to have been

in the years 1825 and 1826 to the extent of - - - - - - -	20,318,448lbs.
And during the years 1827 and 1828 it had *decreased*, notwithstanding the increased population, to - - -	13,582,065lbs.
Decrease	6,736,373lbs.

* In 1815 there was of Bohea tea sold 397,909lbs. at 2s. 10d. per lb.; in 1820 there was of Bohea sold 1,497,592lbs. at 1s. 9d. per lb.; and in 1829, 3,778,012lbs. at 1s. 6d. per lb.!

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In 1826 the value of the tea exported from Canton to America was, S. dollars	3,752,281
In 1827, S. dollars - - - -	1,741,882
Decrease Spanish dollars	2,010,399

The supply of Europe by the Americans exhibits a still further decrease ;—

In 1818 export of tea to Europe - -	3,103,651lbs.
In 1827 Do. Do. - - -	357,966lbs.
Falling off; or *Decrease*	2,745,685lbs.

The Cape of Good Hope bears out my argument ;—

In 1820 Population - -	105,086	
Consumption of tea - - -		158,788lbs.
In 1828 Population - -	132,610	
Consumption of tea - - - -		77,916lbs.
	Decrease	80,762lbs.

In Ireland, the consumption of tea in the year 1828, was 1,300,000lbs. *less* than in 1827; and although the population of Ireland has rapidly increased, indeed, nearly doubled itself, since the commencement of the present century, yet the quantity of tea imported into that country is 400,000lbs. *less* in 1828, than it was in 1800!

The Netherland's tea trade is strongly corroborative of my remarks, for there the duty is exceedingly low; the Americans have a free competition with the Dutch and Belgians, and the whole continent almost is open for re-exportation. I observe by the statements of Mr. Masterson, the vice consul at Rotterdam, that:

	Qr. Chests.
In 1818, the consumption of tea and the re-exportation amounted to - - - - -	90,535
In 1829, it was only - - - - -	26,392
Decrease of Quarter Chests!	64,143

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France, with a population of upwards of thirty millions, without any monopoly, having a *very low rate* of duty imposed, and a national temperament among the people, for whom it would seem tea was especially adapted, yet it will be observed by the following return from the Consular-office, that the small quantity of the herb consumed in France has been stationary for several years; surely Mr. Crawfurd will not ascribe it to the sinister influence of the *English East India Company*?

TEA IMPORTED INTO FRANCE.

Years.	Kilogrammes.*	Years.	Kilogrammes.
1820	83,366	1823	70,057
1821	79,144	1824	89,030
1822	83,597	1826	72,801

Hamburgh has been much spoken of for cheapness of tea, as compared with England, while it is quite kept out of sight, that the average annual taxation on each individual there, is about *eight shillings*, and in Great Britain upwards of *four guineas*;—a circumstance which every politician must know, affects the price of all commodities, especially those of foreign production; yet I find that even at Hamburgh, which is justly considered the emporium of Germany, the consumption of tea has *not increased*, although the same article which cost a quarter of a Spanish dollar at Canton was selling for *half a franc* at Hamburgh!

IMPORTATION OF TEA INTO HAMBURG.

Years.	Chests.	Years.	Chests.
1825	32,815	1827	36,364
1826	21,614	1828	12,831

Thus we see a falling off in the latter year, as compared with the first, of nearly 20,000 chests!

The Consul's return from Russia does not invalidate my argument, as the following statement will demonstrate:—

IMPORTATION OF TEA INTO RUSSIA.

Year.	Poods.†	Year.	Poods.	Year.	Poods.
1824	154,197	1825	113,514	1826	130,562

* A kilogramme is about 2½ lbs.
† About 36 lbs. English.

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The American exportation of tea from Canton has considerably *decreased;* for I find that so long ago as 1806, it amounted to *twelve million* pounds weight, and in 1828, (after two and twenty years free trade) it has diminished to less than *eight million pound weight!*

As the exportation of tea by the Americans from Canton, will indicate whether the consumption of the herb be decreasing or augmenting, and also tend to remove the false hopes that have been held out to the people of this country, as well as the absolute danger of putting in jeopardy one of the most valuable branches of British commerce, in order to carry into effect a visionary theory, I shall proceed with my statements.

Tea Imported from Canton, by the Americans, with a view to Foreign Consumption.

Years.	lbs.
In 1819—20	3,318,165
1825—26	1,360,800
1826—27	357,966

Here will be observed a falling off between the second and last period of 1,002,834 lbs. and between the last and first period of 2,950,199 lbs.

I have another document before me, which it may be as well to give.

Quantity and Value of Tea Re-exported from the United States.

Years.	Quan. lbs.	Value Span. dolrs.
1826	2,804,753	1,308,694
1827	1,626,417	772,443
Decrease	1,178,336 lbs.	636,251 Sp. dolrs.

The statement of Mr. Milne, who was engaged in the American tea trade since 1799, but who has now abandoned it, is not to be wondered at, when the speculative efforts to force a *luxury* on the public is considered. Mr. Milne observed in his evidence before the House of Commons, that during the last five years at least, "*the tea trade has been very ruinous!*" It is true, comparative lists of prices have been exhibited; as well might the

claret market at Bordeaux be judged of by the sales of whole cargoes of claret at Calcutta, for *less than the price of the bottles in which it was stowed!* It is well known that French captains* bought at Calcutta auctions many hundred dozens of claret, which they themselves had brought thither for European consignees, but which they found it profitable to purchase in India and re-sell in France! The same occured with the British manufactures, which were bought by shiploads in India for re-exportation to America, cheaper than they could be purchased in England. But to proceed with the American exports of tea, which all the transatlantic merchants agree in being an unprofitable business, and that it exists principally by "*trading on duties,*"—that is, evading the custom-laws, by which the government duty may be delayed for *two years* minus *one day!*†

	Years.	lbs.
American Home Consumption of tea................	In 1819......	8,884,998
	1827......	5,875,599
Decreased Home Consumption....		lbs. 3,008,399

Having found a table among the Parliamentary papers, from which I have made the preceding statements I proceed to quote it, as it must be considered important testimony: I would desire, however, to be distinctly understood as not indulging in any triumph, because the arguments I have adduced have been supported by irrefutable facts; I wish the American and English tea trade could be increased to *ten times* its present amount, and that the Chinese could be induced to take the manufactures of both nations in exchange for their tea,—to admit the merchants of every country, whether single or incorporated, under less restrictive regulations,—and to adopt (that which every man who desires the welfare of his species must ardently hope for) *true principles of free trade,* but which I fear, are as little understood in Europe as in China. Basing as I do my ar-

* Captain Dupeyron of *Le Coromandel,* for instance, in 1830.
† Mr. Milne's evidence in the Lords, page 801.

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guments on facts, I am bound to develope the *truth,* not as it might be consonant to my ideas or hopes, but as it really stands, more particularly, as a speculative commercial error on the present important question, would inevitably and irrevocably plunge thousands into ruin, whose only consolation from the legislature and government would be that "*their intentions were well meant.*" This, alas! would be cold comfort for the proprietors of India stock—the enfeebled pensioners and annuitants—the manufacturers—the shipping interests, —the cultivators of opium and cotton in India, and the numerous wholesale and retail dealers in tea throughout the united kingdom; but I am digressing, perhaps.

VALUE OF TEA EXPORTED BY THE AMERICANS TO DIFFERENT PLACES, IN 1826 & 1827.

			Decrease.
To Holland*........S. Dollars	230,137	39,566	190,571
To Gibraltar	235,474	123,158	112,216
Hanse Towns and Germany†	337,331	325,410	11,921
France on the Atlantic†	209,252	126,019	83,133
The Brazils	80,164	41,236	38,828
All other plaees	216,336	17,054	198,282
Total S. Dollars & Decrease	1,308,694.	772,443.	526,251

The foregoing return must be admitted a convincing document; if a decrease took place in *one* country, it might be counterbalanced by an encrease in *another,* but in this a general decrease is observable, notwithstanding that at all the places mentioned, the Government duty is low and the sale prices, of course, proportionately so. Of the other countries in Europe it is scarcely necessary to speak; I will examine the returns from one seat of luxury.

QUANTITY OF TEA IMPORTED INTO NAPLES.

In 1826...............	5,961 lbs.
In 1827...............	3,418 lbs.
Decrease	2,443 lbs.

* The American witnesses before Parliament have rather oddly accounted for the falling off of their importations of tea into Holland, where there is but little restriction on them, namely, because a Tea Company has been incorporated!

† These places do not supply themselves, they are furnished with tea by the Americans, who now find it scarcely pays freight.

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Even in this paltry place a decrease is observed. The quantity of tea annually consumed in the Roman states is 4,234 lbs. Venice consumes 26 cwt.; Trieste, 5 cwt.; Leghorn, 353 chests; Frankfort, 112 cwt.; Denmark, 129,000 lbs.; and, in fact, the aggregate consumption of Russia, France, Denmark, &c. &c. amounts to 8,539,968 lbs.*

It is not a little remarkable that for the nine years preceding 1780, the importation of tea into the continent of Europe was about .... 118,000,000 lbs.!

In the year 1784, it was......... 19,027,300 lbs.

And in 1791, only............... 2,291,500 lbs.

Having given, in a former page, the *home* consumption of tea in America for 1819 and 1827, it is proper to observe what have been the sales of the East India Company at those periods, for, as I have in several parts of this work observed, the consumption of tea in England would never have risen to the height it has at present obtained, but for the judicious management of the Company in watching and studying the public taste, a circumstance which has been completely overlooked, or sedulously put aside.

QUANTITY OF TEA EXPORTED FROM CANTON BY THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

In 1818-19;	21,085,860 lbs.	In 1825-26,	27,821,121 lbs.
In 1819-20,	28,476,231 lbs.	In 1826-27,	40,182,241 lbs.
Total	49,562,091 lbs.	Total	68,003,362 lbs.

This document shews that notwithstanding the decreased consumption of tea in proportion to the increased population and wealth of the country; yet that the gratuitous assertion of Mr. Crawfurd was notoriously incorrect when he stated that by means of the East India Company "the commercial intercourse of the British nation with 140,000,000 Chinese was placed under a rigorous monopoly, in order *to foster* by all possible means the *industry of Americans and other foreigners!*" The Americans and other foreigners have been subjected to the influence of no monopoly as it is termed, and what have they done?

* Mr. Ellis on the China trade.

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But let subsequent statements answer the question, if the foregoing figures be not amply sufficient for every impartial person to form an opinion on it. To the British American colonies the East India Company have also augmented their exports of tea, by which means, as the parliamentary witnesses admit, the Americans have been excluded from that market, notwithstanding the great facilities they enjoy for smuggling, and the duty being most trifling.

QUANTITY OF TEA EXPORTED BY THE EAST INDIA COMPANY TO QUEBEC, MONTREAL, &c.

Year.	Quantity.	Year.	Quantity.	Year.	Quantity.
1824,	1,179,150 lbs.	1825,	1,499,576 lbs.	1826,	1,614,736 lbs.

There will be perceived an increase in two years of 435,586 lbs., and the smuggling from the States has been found no longer profitable.

I will quote one more document as to the declining consumption of tea on the continent of Europe, under all the advantages of what is termed "free trade;" and in doing so, I cannot help coming to the conclusion, that if the prudent management of the East India Company were withdrawn from the British free trade, and it were abandoned to the mad speculations of those who think nothing is requisite to procure a ready sale and increased consumption, but importation to the greatest possible extent, it would soon become as "*ruinous*," a commerce as the Americans' is stated to be; it is, indeed, well worthy the deep attention of the legislature to consider that the drinking of tea is an *acquired taste*, which once weakened or annihilated, is *not likely to be restored*, and if every warehonse in England were filled with tea, no possible use could be made of it as an article of food, or for the purpose of supporting life.

AMERICAN EXPORTATION OF TEA FROM CANTON, FOR FOREIGN CONSUMPTION.

Years.	Quantity.	Years.	Quantity.
1815-16	2,731,000 lbs.	1822-23	2,266,000 lbs.
1816-17	2,880,000	1823-24	1,238,800
1817-18	2,086,245	1824-25	1,762,000
1818-19	3,103,651	1825-26	1,360,000
1819-20	3,318,156	1826-27	357,966
Total	14,119,052 lbs.	Total	6,935,566 lbs.

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Exportation the *first* 5 years	....	14,119,052 lbs.
Do.......... *second* 5 years	....	6,935,566
Falling off during the latter period	.....	7,183,486 lbs.

Thus we see that the Americans have, in twelve years, made nothing of the carrying trade, for the very obvious reason, that after the war they deluged the continent with the herb, the result of which has been *a decrease to a great extent of the demand.* In 1815, the navigation of the seas was re-opened,—commerce again spread its sails over the ocean,—and the turbulent passions of war were succeeded by the active duties of peace. The industry, intelligence, and perseverance of the Americans was observed foremost in the van of speculative enterprise, and the merchants of the southern States, with an ardour natural to their clime, determined to push the tea trade with Europe: the first five years show to what an extent it was carried; but the fairest way to estimate the extent of the speculations is to look at it a few years after the trade was fully open.

In 1818-19..	3,103,651 lbs.	In 1825-26..	1,360,800 lbs.
In 1819-20..	3,318,156 lbs.	In 1826-27..	357,966 lbs.
Total	6,421,807 lbs.	Total	1,718,766 lbs.

Here we see a decrease of 4,703,841lbs. on two periods of two years each, but according to the theories of Messrs. Crawfurd, Rickards, Whitmore, &c., there should have been an *increase.* Such has been the effect of glutting the market with a *luxury*; had it been a *nutritive beverage* such as *cocoa* for instance, which at 1*s*. 6*d*. per lb. will supply a labouring person with good, wholesome, economical nourishment for several days, the result would have been otherwise; the Americans might have gone on increasing their importations, for on account of the general poverty of the great mass of the people, whatever will support life and can be had at a cheap rate, is

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sure of being purchased, and extensively consumed.—Even *lowness of price* has had no effect in increasing the consumption of tea in Europe. From the report of the British Consuls, I gather the following information in support of my opinion, that it is unwise and impolitic as regards the British revenue, as well as the extensive commerce dependant on the present consumption of tea in England to meddle with it—for assuredly if such be the case, wide-spreading devastation will be the result!—The British Consul-general at Hamburgh says, that he is informed the market at Hamburgh as well as that of Holland is *overstocked with tea*, and that the price since 1816, has been reduced *one-third;*—that "the late failures in the United States,—the balance of *two* or *three million of dollars* due to the American customs,—the loss of the Dutch Tea-trading Company computed during the last four years at 2,000,000 florins, sufficiently prove the trade has *of late been carried on without benefit*." From Bremen the Consul writes that the consumption of tea is trifling, occupying a small portion of ship room. At Lubeck there is no *wholesale* trade in tea, and but *a very irregular one in the retail business!* At Dantzig, the principal port in Prussia, there is no wholesale trade in tea; the consumption in Prussia is too trifling to be known. At Frankfort, Mr. Koch observes, that not more than 100 cwt. weight is consumed in the town and territory, among a population of 70,000!

This is at the rate of one-eighth of a pound for each individual a-year, but even this, next to nothing consumption cannot be given as a general scale. Of Germany, as Mr. Koch says, "in some parts *no tea is drank*, and in others very little, the people being in the habit of drinking coffee for breakfast, and beer and wine at other meals!" Let it be observed also, that the consumption duty on tea is only *ten pence* per cwt., which is considered so trifling, that the customs' register have no accurate records of the importation. In Denmark there was on hand after the September sale in 1828, 635,000lbs. of tea, sufficient for *five years consumption!*

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If we proceed to investigate the cause for the stationary and decreased consumption of tea, we shall find a solution of it in the extended use of coffee.* This delightful berry was introduced into Surinam, by the Dutch, in 1718; into Cayenne, by the French, in 1721; into Martinico, in 1727; and into Jamaica, by the English, in 1728. Its encreasing consumption in Europe is indicated by the following statements.

European Consumption of Coffee.

In 1826	73,000 tons.
1827	95,600
1828	96,000
1829	100,000
1830	122,900

The consumption of Coffee in the principal countries in Europe in 1830, was as follows:

In Great Britain	9,700 tons.
Netherlands and Holland	40,200
Germany and the Baltic	32,000
France, Spain, and Portugal	28,500
America	12,500
Total	122,900

To meet this vast demand, and to show how many parts of the globe are capable of furnishing the berry, I subjoin the present annual production:—

Java	19,000 tons.
Sumatra, and other parts of India	6,000
Brazils, and the Spanish Main	32,000
St. Domingo	15,000
Cuba	14,000
British West India Colonies	5,000
French ditto, and Bourbon	8,000
Total	111,500

* Since the *lowering of the duty* to 6*d*, the consumption of coffee has increased above 130 per cent; tea on which the *duty has been increased* has augmented only 26 per cent.

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It will be observed that the supply is inadequate to the demand, and one half of the 111,500 tons is of *recent growth,* hence it may be inferred what a still further reduction in the consumption of tea will ensue, when the supply of coffee will so much exceed the demand as to lessen the price. The following table of the consumption of coffee in Great Britain, at two periods, will account for the moderate use of tea.*

In 1795........	282,200 lbs	In 1825....	11,080,970 lbs
1796........	515,200	1826....	13,203,323
1797........	600,300	1827....	15,566,376
1798........	582,400	1828....	17,127,633
1799........	761,600	1829....	19,476,180
1800........	658,500	1830....	21,728,000
Total....	3,400,200 lbs	Total..	97,282,482 lbs

In the United States the consumption of Coffee has progressed as follows:—

In 1821........	6,680 *tons*	In 1824	9,000 *tons*
1822	7,000	1825	9,500
1823	8,000	and 1830	15,000

The Philadelphia Price Current to the commencement of 1832, gives the following statement respecting coffee:

In 1821 the quantity imported *was*.... 21,275,659 *lbs.*
Do.......do...... exported........ 9,378,596

Importation from 1821 to 1831........419,996,628 *lbs.*
Exportation.......................162,024,067

The total quantity of coffee consumed during the first five years was .... 87,331,465 *lbs.*
Do....do .... last 170,659,096

* There are 3,000 coffee shops in London. in which are daily consumed 2,000 lbs. of tea and 15,000 lbs. of coffee. The consumption of *coffee* in these establishments has increased as follows:—In 1829 1,978,600 lbs.—In 1830 2,251,300 lbs.—In 1831 2,899,870. Of tea the increase has only been during the same periods, 239,700 lbs.—249,400 lbs.—263,000 lbs.

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The largest quantity was from Cuba, but the importation from Brazil was nearly equal in amount: the Editor says the consumption of coffee is still rapidly on the increase. The augmented production of the Brazils is shewn as follows:—

In 1820 Brazil produced ..	14,900,000 lbs.
1822................	24,300,000
1824................	36,700,000
1826................	41,600,000
1827................	57,900,000

It may be said that the increased consumption in coffee is owing to a dimunition in its cost price; the custom-house returns shew that it was in proportion as the government duty was lowered, that the consumption increased; in 1820 the price of coffee was still from 118 to 135s. per cwt.*

The following table exhibits the immediate increase, according to the lessened taxation:—

	Years Inclusive	Duty. s. d.	Consumption for that Period. Tons.		lbs.	Yearly Average lbs.
From 1791 to 1794	4	0 11	1,555	or	3,483,100	870,775
1795..1799	5	1 5	1,229	..	2,741,700	548,340
1800..1804	5	1 6	1,814	..	4,063,300	812,460
1805..*1807	3	2 2	1,489	..	3,337,200	1,112,400
1808..1812	5	0 7	16,020	..	35,884,800	7,176,960
1813..1818	6	0 7¼	19,019	..	42,603,137	7,100,523
1819..1824	6	1 0	20,887	..	46,874,407	7,812,402
1825..1830	6	0 6	43,691	..	98,183,481	16,363,916

Perhaps the opponents of the East India Company will say—well, although the government duty of 100 per cent. has been kept upon tea, yet (in the words of Mr. Crawfurd's pamphlet) "it is not good to pay a *double price* for a *necessary of life*, and to be put on a *short allowance* of such." Official documents furnish me with an incontestable refutation of the assertion.

By a parliamentary return I find that the East India

* The consumption of cocoa has increased much of late, although bearing an exceedingly high price. In 1828 the importation was 8,000 barrels and bags, while in 1829 there were imported into the port of London alone 18,000 barrels and bags!

† In 1807, the duty was 2s 2d, and the consumption 475 tons; in 1808, the duty was 7d, and the consumption rose to 3,950 tons!

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Company *diminished the price of tea* as follows, since the last renewal of their charter:—

	lbs.		*s.*	*d.*
Year ending May 1, 1815, Bohea sold	397,909	price	2	10 *per lb.*
Do........do....1820,.........	1,497,592....		1	9
Do........do....1829,.........	3,778,012....		1	6

What an idea this conveys of a *monopoly!* An increase in the supply of 900 per cent., while the price is diminished full 50 per cent!!! Truly may Mr. Crawfurd say, when attacking the liberal French for their permitting a sovereign monopoly of tobacco, "I admit at once that the monopoly (?) of the East India Company in tea does not labour under *equal disadvantages;* the company have the *fear of public opinion* before their eyes, in a country where public opinion is sometimes pretty loudly expressed, and they have before their eyes, *above all,* the *fear of losing* their monopoly; these are some checks upon the *quality* of the supply, but as *experience has sufficiently proved, none at all upon the price exacted.*" Contrast the latter passage with the official return above given, and with the following conclusive statement even on the price of *all* the East India Company's teas.

A Statement, showing the Average Sale Price per Pound of all Teas sold by the East India Company in each Year during the present Charter.

1814-15......	3	4.53	1822-23......	2	9.94
1815-16......	3	1.23	1823-24......	2	10.31
1816-17......	2	11.63	1824-25......	2	9.94
1817-18......	3	0.78	1825-26......	2	8.51
1818-19......	3	0.23	1826-27......	2	6.40
1819-20......	2	9.16	1827-28......	2	4.56
1820-21......	2	9.43	1828-29......	2	3.07
1821-22......	2	10.19			

East-India House, (Errors excepted.)
6th Jan. 1830. Thos. G. Lloyd, Accountant-General.

In order to show the inimical disposition with which Mr. Crawfurd regards the East India Company, when he asserts that they have kept up the price of tea, as he does

in the passage above given, I will quote from a table which *he himself* has delivered in to the Parliamentary Committee on the *price of tea* in America; but before doing so, I must request the reader's attention to the following important document, by which it will be seen that the Company have to a considerable extent been *lowering* the *prices* of tea; in 1828 the *public paid less* for 28,230,383 lbs of tea than they did in 1810 for 23,548,468 lbs., by upwards of £600,000!

QUANTITY AND SALE PRICE OF TEA IMPORTED BY THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

1810—23,548,468 lbs—£3,896,291
1813—24,424,832 lbs—£3,896,871
1819—25,492,000 lbs—£3,489,385
1824—26,523,327 lbs—£3,741,402
1826—27,700,978 lbs—£3,485,092
1828—28,*230,383 lbs—£3,286,272!

Contrast the foregoing *diminution* of cost in England with the *increased* price in America as Mr. Crawfurd has himself unwittingly exhibited it.

INCREASING PRICE OF TEAS IN AMERICA DURING THE LAST TEN YEARS.

TEAS.	YEARS.											
	1820		1822		1824		1826		1828		1829	
	s.	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*
†Hyson	2	6	2	6	2	10	2	7	2	8	2	7‡
Young Hyson	1	11	1	10	2	8	2	3	2	3	2	3
Hyson Skin .	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	7	1	5	1	4
Souchong ..	1	1	1	3	1	7	1	6	1	6	1	7

What becomes of Mr. Crawfurd's allegation as to there being no check on the Company *charging any price*, when we find them actually *lowering the cost of tea*, while the Americans are *enhancing theirs*?

* The Company offered for sale 1,317,920 lbs. *more than this*, but the buyers refused to purchase so large a quantity!!

† These are the teas in general use.

‡ Calculated at the rate of 4*s* 3¼*d* per dollar.

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Moreover, the East India Company put up their tea at an advance of only *one farthing* perpoun dalthough the Commutation Act authorises them to offer it under *one penny* advance on the upset price, yet the tea dealers uphold the market for their own advantage,* or else it is most probable the Company would have been enabled to lower the price even more than they have done.

But that I may the more fully expose these attempts to blind the public, I offer the following table, as handed in to the Parliamentary Committee by Mr. Milne, a gentleman many years resident in Philadelphia, and engaged in the China trade. It is the prices of tea at New York, reduced to sterling at the exchange of 8 per cent. premium.

PRICE OF TEAS FROM 1820 TO 1830.

	1820		1821		1822		1823		1824		1825		1826		1827		1828		1829	
	s.	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*
	2	9	2	8½	2	11	2	9	3	1	3	4	2	11	3	6½	3	6½	3	1½
	2	3½	2	3	2	3	2	9	3	0	3	1½	2	10	3	6½	3	6½	3	0
	1	4	1	4	1	4	1	9	2	4½	2	7	2	2	2	2	2	11½	2	11½
	1	2½	1	1½	1	3½	1	5½	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	7	2	7½	2	1
Average..	1	11	1	10¾	1	11¼	2	2¼	2	7¼	2	9	2	6	2	11¼	3	2	2	8

According to these statements, it is the Americans that have felt the monopoly effects of the Canton trade, if we are to credit Mr. Crawfurd's *theories*, for their *importation* of tea has been *diminishing* during the last few years, while the *price* has been *increasing* !

These are certainly rather stubborn facts for the opponents of the East India Company to deal with, but they are conclusive in favour of the judicious and careful management of this important trade. No wonder that Captain Coffin (an American) stated in his evidence before the late parliamentary committee, that the number of American ships latterly trading to Canton has *decreased*, and "the profits realized by the merchants engaged in the trade, is now *considerably less* than what they were three or four years ago!" and this, notwithstanding, as

* Mr. T. Mills, a tea-dealer, in his evidence confirms this: he states, "Congou tea put up by the Company at 1*s.* 8*d.*, often fetches 2*s.* 5*d.*, and other congou tea put up at 2*s.* 1*d.*, has fetched 3*s.* 1*d.*! There is plenty of tea for sale; yet the Company are blamed for the high prices!

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Captain Coffin adds, "that the Chinese favor the Americans on account of the *great quantity of specia* that the bring to Canton, while the East India Company *import large quantities of goods!!*"

But what does Mr. Edward Thompson say, a Philadelphia gentleman, who was the largest ship-owner in the American China trade, and who, as an individual, paid the largest sum to his government in the shape of duties, that any individual ever did?* Why, that he embarked in the Chinese trade with six ships, and a capital of 800,000 Spanish dollars, applicable to the trade. What has been the result? Mr. Thompson, like many others of his countrymen who engaged in the same pursuits, is a *bankrupt*! and the American government has lost a considerable portion of the duties due, for *two years* credit is obtainable in the States, not *fourteen days* as in England.

It may be surmised that the reason for the increased price of tea in America during the last few years, notwithstanding the competition which has made bankrupts of so many persons, has been owing to the *enhanced charge* for tea at Canton. The following statement of two Americans, Captain Coffin and Mr. Bates, will prove that the *very reverse* has taken place:—

In 1822.	Per pecul.	In 1829.	Per pecul.
Souchong	22 to 23 tales	Souchong	14 to 25 tales
Hyson Skin	35	Hyson Skin	9 to 18
Young Hyson	36	Young Hyson	20 to 35
Congou	21 to 22	Congou	14 to 20

I find so many statements crowding upon me, confirmatory of my opinions that I am induced to continue an exposition of facts which have too long been concealed from, or overlooked by, the public. At page 78 Mr. Crawfurd charges the East India Company with checking the *consumption of tea* in England by its *monopoly*, and thus he says "reducing her (England) from the condition of a wealthy to that of a poor customer in *comparison* with nations enjoying the *advantages of competition.*" Now, in order to support this assertion, Mr. Crawfurd

* *Fourteen million Spanish dollars!*

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should have demonstrated that the *consumption of tea* has *decreased* in England on account of the East India Company's monopoly; and *increased* in America on account of that country "*enjoying the advantages of competition*;" and he might have added on account also of the lightness of general taxation in America—of the vast increase of population—of the *relative* lower price of tea, and the greater comparative wealth of the people: if Mr. Crawfurd had proved his assertion by figures I would not have written one line in favor of the present system; but on turning to a table delivered into the Parliamentary Committee by Mr. Crawfurd himself, what do I find? Why, the *very reverse* of his allegation! From a table of the comparative consumption of tea in Great Britain and America, I derive the following figures, which I beg public attention to as highly illustrative of what are termed the "deplorable effects of the East India Comny's *monopoly*."

American consumption of tea.		British consumption of tea.	
1819 —	5,480,884 lbs.	1819 —	24,093,619 lbs.
1827 —	5,372,956	1827 —	27,841,284
Decrease! ..	107,828 lbs.	Increase ..	3,747,665 lbs.

What will the free traders who have raised such an outcry against the East India Company say to this? The United States levying an *ad valorem* duty of 60 per cent.; with a people rapidly increasing in numbers, wealth, and all the concomitant blessings attendant on national prosperity, and with the *freest competition*, consume LESS tea by ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND POUNDS WEIGHT in 1827, than they did in 1819:—and Great Britain, levying an *ad valorem* duty of 100 per cent.;—with an impoverished population, ground to the earth by taxation, and no indication of national prosperity, yet by the careful and truly praiseworthy conduct of the East India Company, not only is there *no falling off* in the consumption of tea, but there is actually an *increase* of nearly *four million of pounds weight* from 1819 to 1827, and let it be remembered also, that the *price* of tea has been *lowered*

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by the Company in England, while, on the other hand, the *price* has been *raised* in America! Further comment on this gratifying truth would be useless.

That I may leave no loophole through which the "*disinterested*" opponents of the present system may escape from these (to them) horrifying figures, let us see if America has been *re-exporting tea* in proportion to her diminished consumption; if so our antagonists have a right to say, that, *at least*, the American *carrying trade* has augmented. But here, too, the advocates of justice and commercial policy are triumphant, as the following figures derived from *another of Mr. Crawfurd's furnished tables* will prove. It is preferable to build arguments on Mr. Crawfurd's statements, because the party to whom he belongs will be the less disposed to question their accuracy.

AMERICAN EXPORTS OF TEA FROM CANTON, AND FROM THE UNITED STATES, TO *FOREIGN PORTS*, FROM 1825 to 1828.

Years.	From the United States.	From Canton.
1825	3,035,908 lbs	1,762,000 lbs.
1826	2,804,758	1,360,800
1827	1,626,417	357,966
1828	1,417,846	910,000

Decrease during the last 2 years as compared with the two former.	2,786,303 lbs.	*Decrease* during the last 2 years as compared with the two former.	1,954,834 lbs.

So then I have fairly demonstrated, from the very tables furnished by Mr. Crawfurd, 1st. That the *price* of tea in America has been *increased*, notwithstanding that its prime cost at Canton has been lowered: — the Americans by not purchasing their teas by contract obtain them at a cheaper rate than the East India Company, who, on account of the large quantity they require, and by reason of the Commutation Act which obliges them to keep one year's supply always on hand in England, are necessitated to make considerable advances to the Chinese besides paying a higher sum for their teas, which Captain Coffin and Mr. Bates, (Americans), admit to be "from 5 to 10 per cent better than *their* teas," and yet the price

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has been lessened in England, according to *another table of Mr. Crawfurd's,** full *thirty per cent* within the last fifteen years, and in some sorts, as I have before shewn, upwards of *fifty per cent !* 2ndly. That under what are considered the most propitious circumstances, the *consumption* of tea has *diminished* in America, while under the operation of what has absurdly been termed a monopoly in England, the *consumption* has increased, in some sorts of tea to the extent of 900 per cent! 3rdly, That the *carrying trade* in tea, which it was boasted the Americans were usurping to the exclusion of England, that this even has *fallen off* to an extraordinary degree. Throughout Europe, as I have shewn, the consumption of tea has diminished, while, notwithstanding the active competition carried on by the Americans with the Dutch, the price of tea, according to Mr. Masterson, the Vice-consul at Rotterdam, has exhibited "*very little fluctuation during the last ten years.*"

At the Cape of Good Hope I find also, that the price of tea is decreasing. The average price in 1815-16 being 3s. 6d., and in 1827-28, 3s. $2\frac{1}{2}$d.

Having satisfactorily demonstrated to every reasoning individual, the truth of the proposition assumed in the first page, respecting the misapplication of the word "monopoly," as unjustly attached to the tea trade, I now proceed to notice a serious charge brought against the present system; and even with the scanty documents which chance has thrown into my possession, and although I am almost without books or public documents to refer to, yet I trust I shall be enabled to expose in the most conclusive manner, the falsity of every assertion which I propose to examine into. At page 68 of the pamphlet I am referring to, there is a long string of invective against the East India Company's tea trade, as it affects the British Exchequer, and this being an important question for the people of England, I shall reply to each allegation separately, but briefly.

Mr. Crawfurd says, "considered as an instrument of taxation, the monopoly possesses in reality every quality

* Vide page 356, Evidence before the Commons.

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of a *bad tax;* (1st.) being *costly* in the collection beyond any other."

Now whether Mr. Crawfurd, or the select committee of the House of Commons, appointed to inquire into this subject, is to be believed, the public must decide; the following is the *Committee's Report,* who seem to be unable to repress their astonishment at the *cheapness* with which the tea duty is collected.

"*The revenue to the crown* from tea is produced by an *ad valorem* duty. The *average* amount of this revenue is stated to be *about* 3,300,000*l. annually.* It is *most economically collected* by the Company, who pay it over quarterly, a fortnight after they receive it; and *the whole of the charge incurred by the crown* for an establishment to check and superintend this branch of the excise in London, is stated *to amount to less than* 10,000*l. annually, exclusive of the establishment for superintending the dealers' stocks!*"*

The amount of tea duties received by the crown from 1814 to 1830, was 50,184,113*l.* sterling! Compare this with the following statements:—

The Imposts on Spirits, Malt Liquors, Wine, Sugar, Coffee, Tobacco, and Stamps,† were in,—		The Expense of Collecting the Revenue, was in,—	
1828	£33,454,367	1828	£3,270,475
1829	33,155,634	1829	3,118,102
1830	31,457,846	1830	3,014,224
Total	£97,067,847	Total	£9,402,801

Thus we find that a revenue of one hundred million costs nearly *one tenth* of the sum for collecting it, while a revenue of fifty million sterling *on tea,* does not cost the government the *three hundredth part of the sum!* ‡

The American witnesses in their evidence before the House of Commons, stated that heavy defalcations had occurred in the American revenue, by reason of the ex-

* The latter is of trifling import.

† These form the principal items from which the revenue (exclusive of tea) is derived; the Post office is detached, and separately collected.

‡ Sir H. Parnell makes the charge for collecting the revenue, in 1826, 7½ per cent.

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tensive failure of tea merchants; it being absolutely necessary to give them *two years' credit!* *

Mr. Crawfurd charges six hundred thousand pounds window tax, which commenced to be levied in 1784, *against* the East India Company. The unfairness of such an allegation, will be evident by observing that when the window tax was levied, tea paid a duty of only twelve pounds ten shillings per cent, whereas it now pays one hundred pounds per cent. Mr. Pitt also, in imposing the window tax, made it as much as possible a *property tax,* by levying it on houses of a certain class, which persons having a superfluity of income could alone afford to live in. In the foregoing instance will be perceived the *quo animo* Mr. Crawfurd acts up to; but having, I think, amply rebutted the allegation of "*costly collection,*" I turn to another charge, (No. 2) viz. that the tea tax is "*uncertain in amount;*" (page 68) and at page 70, the charge is reiterated as follows: "With respect to the *uncertainty* and *decline* of the tea duties, whether *positive* or in reference to the duties on *corresponding commodities,* we have happily a plain and palpable case for the interference of the Chancellor of the Exchequer." This is a bold assertion, and one which, if true, would indeed call for the immediate investigation of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and even of Parliament, but imperfect as my means are, I can incontrovertibly demonstrate its falsity, both *positively* and *relatively.*

The following parliamentary document proves the careful manner in which the public taste for tea has been attended to; and that when the duty was *lowered* from 27*l.* to 12*l.* the consumption *instantly increased* 5,000,000 lbs. weight in *one year,* viz. from 1784 to 1785! When the duty was *raised,* the consumption, of course, decreased, but by no means to the extent that might have been anticipated in a rise from 12 to 95 per cent.! This was an increased duty in the course of a few years, which was enough to have destroyed the trade altogether; and it would doubtless have done so under ordinary circumstances; but notwithstanding this onerous duty during the last quarter of a century, the tea duty has maintained

* Vide Mr. Milne's evidence before the Lords, pp. 801.

its ground, and *increased* even in amount more in *proportion than sugar*,* which is consumed so generally, and used in so many domestic preparations, as well as in breweries, distilleries, &c. as will be hereafter shewn.

RETURN OF THE QUANTITY OF TEAS SOLD ANNUALLY AT THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SALES, with the account and rate of duty from 1770 to 1806.

Years.	Quantity of Tea sold.	Account of Duty.	
	lbs.	£	
1770	8,630,793	373,375	23*l.* 18*s.* 7½*d.* per cent. Custom duty.
1771	6,814,661	317,635	
1772	7,100,366	300,420	
1773	4,584,169	203,918	
1774	6,866,422	265,288	
1775	6,212,360	262,433	
1776	4,602,858	200,927	
1777	5,659,476	241,287	
1778	4,823,963	204,619	
1779	6,650,704	317,983	25*l.* 2*s.* 6¼*d.* do.
1780	7,577,879	352,851	
1781	5,031,649	265,951	25*l.* 16*s.* 3*d.*
1782	6,495,518	330,390	27*l.* 0*s.* 10*d.*
1783	5,877,340	301,855	
1784	9,937,243	380,761	
1785	14,921,893	292,194	12*l.* 10s. per cent. customs and excise.
1786	15,943,682	341,946	
1787	16,222,923	366,646	
1788	15,014,616	307,317	
1789	16,709,946	326,817	
1790	16,694,798	340,170	
1791	17,263,317	344,293	
1792	18,134,943	351,710	
1793	17,378,208	334,576	
1794	19,137,478	380,805	
1795	21,354,071	636,971	
1796	20,567,952	705,572	From 20*l.* to 30*l.* per cent. on different teas.
1797	18,781,259	817,996	
1798	22,822,286	1,221,080	From 20*l.* to 35*l.* do.
1799	24,077,984	1,341,172	
1800	23,378,816	1,424,195	From do. to 40*l.* do.
1801	24,531,514	1,544,152	From do. to 50*l.* do.
1802	25,300,067	1,679,764	
1803	25,401,728	2,327,812	
1804	22,371,834	2,709,703	95*l.* per cent. on all teas.
1805	24,927,576	3,108,991	
1806	22,895,851	3,123,933	

* Sir H. Parnell admits this.—*Financial Reform*, pp. 44 and 48.

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As Mr. Crawfurd fixes on the East India Company for having caused a diminution in the consumption of tea (which charge the foregoing table proves to be erroneous), at whose door will he lay the blame of having *diminished the consumption of sugar during the last twenty-five years*? *

HOME CONSUMPTION OF SUGAR.

Years.		Home Consump.	Nett Revenue.	Rate of Duty.
1806	tons	140,087	£3,097,590	on British plantation sugar,
1807	„	113,883	£3,150,753	1*l.* 7*s.* sterling.
1808	„	142,140	£4,177,916	on East India sugar, 1*l.* 9*s.*
Total tons		396,010	£10,426,259	
1814†	tons	99,900	£3,276,513	1*l.* 10*s.* plantation & 1*l.* 10*s.*
1815	„	94,448	£2,957,403	East India.
1816	„	111,407	£3,166,851	1*l.* 7*s.* do. & 1*l.* 17*s.* do.
Total tons		305,755	£9,400,767	

These two periods offer a remarkable contrast; the former exhibits an increase in consumption over the latter of upwards of *ninety thousand tons of sugar,* although the duty was but slightly raised, while the expenditure of money during a long war had enabled the people in general to live better, and, of course, to consume more sugar; the population had considerably increased, and the distillery sugar is included. The *falling off in the revenue* during the latter period is no less striking; it will be seen to have declined upwards of *one million sterling!* Unfortunately for Mr. Crawfurd's assertions, there was no East India Company "*monopoly*" to account for this lamentable decay; sugar was produced in different parts of the globe, and in our own colonies in abundance—not like tea, alone procurable from a capricious and unmanageable foreign state, situated at the most distant part of the earth.

* From 1785 to 1789 the average annual consumption of sugar in England was 81,000 tons; from 1795 to 1799 the annual consumption was only 71,291 tons!

† Even sugar used in the distilleries is included in this return.

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I have only at hand the revenue *on tea* paid at two years mentioned in the foregoing statements; they are, however sufficient to bear me out in my argument.

REVENUE FOR TEA IN 1806 AND 1816.

Years.	Nett Revenue.
1806......	£3,123,933
1816......	£3,956,719
Increased Revenue....£	832,786

A pretty proof of "*relative decline in the tea duties!*" Having given a distance of ten years in the sugar returns, I will now place two periods twenty years distant from each other, during which years *the government duty was alike*—viz., 1*l*, 7*s*. per cwt.

CONSUMPTION OF AND REVENUE ON SUGAR IN 1808 AND 1828.

Years.	Home consumption.	Nett revenue.
1808..............	tons 142 140....	£4,177,916
1828*................	164 292....	£4,576,287
Increased consumption of sugar and augmented revenue therefrom in *twenty years*...tons	22,152....	£398,371

Mr. Crawfurd's constituents will scarcely feel obliged to him, for having so incautiously made the present allegation; for it is thus *proved* on examination, that the duty on tea increased in *ten years*.......... £832,786 sterling.
And on sugar in *twenty years!*.......... £398,371

Balance in favour of tea in half the time £434,415

In reference to the consumption of sugar, it is necessary to add an observation, in order to show that there is in fact, a greater *proportionate consumption of tea* in England, than there is of sugar in this or any other country, as the following calculation of a celebrated statistical writer will demonstrate.

* The increased consumption of the latter period has been owing to the admission of Mauritius sugar, in 1825, at the same rate of duty as West India sugar; the importation from the Mauritius increased as follows:—

1825	1826	1827	1828	1829	1830
4,630 . .	10,930 . .	10,220 . .	18,570 . .	14,580 . .	23,740 tons!

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Consumption of Sugar.

In France each individual,		annually	5 lbs.
Hamburg	do.	do.	10
Germany	do.	do. throughout	6
United States	do.	do.	8
Ireland	do.	do.	3
Great Britain	do.	do.	14

Fourteen pounds of sugar per annum, will afford but little more than *half an ounce* a day to each individual; a quantity, which it is well known the youngest child will consume, and yet a large portion of the sugar entered for home consumption, is used in breweries, and distilleries, so that it is even doubtful, whether the personal direct consumption of tea or sugar be the greatest; notwithstanding the latter may be had in such great abundance and in every country within the tropics, as the following return will evince.

Sugar imported into Great Britain for Home Consumption, refining, and re-exportation from 1829 to 1830.

	1828.	1829.	1830.
Of British Plantation...... Tons	196,400	195,230	185,660
Mauritius	18,570	14,580	23,740
Bengal	6,635	8,700	10,180
Siam, Java, Manilla, &c.	1,175	1,600	5,600
Havannah	1,900	5,300	6,060
Brazil	4,940	4,680	5,480
Molasses, red. into Bastards, =	13,010	9,950	5,620
Tons	244,630	240,040	242,340

As Mr. Crawfurd seems to delight in comparing sugar with tea as to its consumption, duties and price, although every person must be convinced of the unjustness of the comparison, the one being a necessary of life,* and the other an innutritive stimulant; I shall pursue the necessary

* Sugar, or a saccharine principle, is the main nutritive ingredient in every vegetable, and the negroes, during cane time in the West Indies, fatten enormously on sugar; the same is the case with animals.

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inquiry a little farther. I have shewn that the East India Company have *lessened the price of tea*, in one species in general use, as much as 50 per cent.

Let us observe if the same reduction has taken place in the price of sugar: it will be sufficient to give from 1819 to 1827, which I do from a work on " the Commerce of Great Britain,* and as British plantation sugar is the most extensively used, I will take that as my guide.

Price of West Indian Sugar from 1819 to 1827.

	1819	1820	1821	1822
Sugar per cwt.	56*s* to 75*s*	57*s* to 75*s*	53*s* to 75*s*	52*s* to 75*s*

1823	1824	1825	1826	1827
58*s* to 70*s*	55*s* to 70*s*	64*s* to 75*s*	57*s* to 72*s*	59*s* to 71*s*

Here we find no diminution in price for *nine years*, and yet there is no East India Company " *monopoly* " to account for it; and if we turn to the price of sugar from the Company's territories in India, notwithstanding their being four times more distant than Jamaica, and in spite of the unjustly high rate of duty levied on East *over* West India sugars, we will find that *they* have diminished in price, augmented in quantity, and improved in quality.

The following are the prices of Bengal sugar at two distant periods:—

Bengal Sugar per cwt.	1815	1816
	65*s* to 75*s*	42*s* to 90*s*
	1829	1830
	25*s* to 39*s*	25*s* to 31*s*

From the efforts now making by the East India Company to extend the cultivation of sugar in their territories the price will be still further lowered,† particularly if the government at home will reduce a portion of the present enormous duty of 32*s*. per cwt, while West India sugar pays but 24*s*.

That it may not be said a comparison with the price of West India sugar is unfair, as undue protection is

* Published by Richardson, Cornhill.

† The French and Americans import a good deal of sugar from Bengal, as they prefer it for the making of syrup and for confectionary purposes. The Company have offered liberal premiums for the encouragement of the sugar manufacturers in Bengal.

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afforded to it, I will shew that the price of Havannah sugar has also increased notwithstanding the extensive importations of slaves that have taken place into the island.

INCREASING PRICE OF HAVANNAH SUGAR PER CWT.

1821	1823	1825	1827	1828
35*s* to 40*s*	36*s* to 43*s*	44*s* to 48*s*	38*s* to 44*s*	40*s* to 46*s*

I shall now look at a few other articles of general consumption, and demonstrate that they have neither increased in amount, augmented the revenue, or lessened in price, more than tea, but rather the reverse. I shall first examine the coffee returns, from an early period up to the time when the duty was so considerably reduced, and the consumption, as I have before shewn, so extraordinarily raised.

HOME CONSUMPTION OF COFFEE FROM 1808 TO 1824.

Years.	Consumption.	Duty.	Years.	Consumption.	Duty.
1808	8,848,000lbs.	7*d.* ℔ lb.	1817	8,108,800lbs.	7¾*d.* ℔ lb.
1809	5,107,200	do.	1818	8,308,737	do.
1810	6,092,800	do.	1819	7,790,783	1*s.*
1811	7,571,200	do.	1820	7,103,409	do.
1812	8,265,600	do.	1821	7.593,001	do.
1813	6,048,000	7¾	1822	7,669,351	do.
1814	5,868,800	do.	1823	8,454,920	do.
1815	6,832,000	do.	1824	8,262,943	do.
1816	7,436,800	do.			

No impartial person can peruse the foregoing statement, and compare it with the tea return for *thirty-six years* before given, and not be convinced of the comparison being in favour of the East India Company. Coffee, like sugar, is the produce of many places, and a large portion of it was obtained from our West India islands within six weeks' sail of England, instead of *six months* distance as China is, and yet it will be perceived that during *seventeen* years the consumption of coffee *did not increase.*

The revenue in 1815 was..£258,762 sterling.
And..........1818 only..£250,106

Decrease......£ 8,556

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It will be seen that the *price of coffee* has also *increased* from 1816 to 1822, and it was not until the lowering of the duty began to stimulate the foreign grower, that its price fell. It is now again (February 1832) comparatively dear; the public are complaining of "*A coffee monopoly!*"

INCREASING PRICE OF COFFEE.

	1816	1818	1820	1822
Jamaica per cwt.	68s to 102s..	134s to 135s..	112s to 135s..	85s to 135s
St. Domingo	74s to 75s..	144s to 148s..	118s to 120s..	95s to 100s

I must now request the reader's attention to the revenue derived from *tobacco* for fifteen years, and it will be seen that, although during the latter period, the duty was *lessened* from 4*s*. to 3*s*., yet the revenue did not *augment*, and, in fact, was scarcely more in the year 1828 than in 1816.

REVENUE DERIVED FROM TOBACCO FROM 1816 TO 1828 FOR HOME CONSUMPTION.*

YEARS	REVENUE	YEARS	REVENUE	YEARS	REVENUE
1816..	£.2,035,109	1820..	£.2,610,972	1824..	£.2,637,855
1817..	2,158,500	1821..	2,600,415	1825..	2,530,617
1818..	2,173,866	1822..	2,599,155	1826..	2,077,875
1819..	2,285,045	1823..	2,695,009	1827..	2,223,340
				1828..	2,198,142

The article of imported spirits will afford also a corroboration of my opinions. I will examine Rum first.

HOME CONSUMPTION OF RUM.

YEARS	CONSUMPTION	YEARS	CONSUMPTION
1806......	2,580,879 gals.	1818......	2,325,268 gals.
1816......	1,109,239	1825......	2,455,505

Annual average consumption of *ten* years. from 1806 to 1815	4,177,083 gals.
Do. do. do. from 1816 to 1825	2,784,534
Decrease..........	1,382,449 gals.

* In 1802, the quantity of *unmanufactured* tobacco retained for home consumption, in Great Britain, was 12,121,278lbs.—In 1822, it was 12,970,566lbs. Again, in 1812, it was, 15,043,533lbs.; and in 1828, it was only 14,540,368, being a *decrease* of *half a million of pounds*. Unfortunately there was no East India Company's "*Monopoly*" to lay this diminished consumption at the door of. In Ireland I find the quantity consumed, at four periods, to be as follows: In 1794, 9,426,211lbs. In 1804, 5,783,487lbs. In 1814, 4,866,304lbs.; and in 1824, 3,749,732 lbs!

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In the foregoing return the decrease is considerable, and it is not compensated for by the consumption of the two following foreign spirits.

Brandy :—

			Gallons
Average consumption from		1806 to 1815 was	1,109,583
Do.	Do.	1815 to 1816	1,058,576
		Decrease..............gallons	51,007

Geneva :--

Average consumption from		1806 to 1816 was	272,893
Do.	Do.	1816 to 1826	117,461
		Decrease..............gallons	55,492

Although the documents produced may be thought amply sufficient to refute Mr. Crawfurd's allegations respecting the *positive or relative* decrease in the tea duties, but which, in fact, have *increased* during the last twenty-five years, while every other article has been nearly stationary, or on the decline,* yet I am induced to refer to a few more illustrations, as the returns are before me:

Revenue derived from Cotton Goods.

Years.	Duties received.	Years.	Duties received.
1815......	£1,298,057	1827......	£1,524,664
1820......	£1,484,643	1830......	£1,942,918

This branch of commerce which must be considered the British staple manufacture, presents no superiority over the tea revenue managed by a so called "*monopoly*."

The Wine returns for Great Britain and Ireland demonstrate whether the consumption of wine has *increased* in the United Kingdom in an equal or greater proportion than tea. I take *all sorts* of wine at two periods of ten years each, and I obtain the following data satisfactory as to my conclusions respecting the consumption of tea having not only maintained its ground, but surpassed even in consumption those articles of nutrition and luxury which are of *general* use.

* *Decrease* in the Excise from 1831 to 1832 ....£2,564,000
Do. on the Customs do. do................£1,007,000

Consumption of all sorts of Wine in Great Britain.

From the year 1790 to 1800,	Wine gallons....	62,062,665
From do 1810 to 1820,	do	54,584,820
	Decrease! Wine gallons	7,477,845!!!

Consumption of all sorts of Wine in Ireland.

From 1790 to 1800,	Wine gallons....	15,232,138
From 1810 to 1820,	do	7,177,761
	Decrease! Wine gallons	8,054,377

The following table will place the matter in a clearer light, and it must not be forgotten that wine like sugar, tobacco or any of the other articles which I am quoting (to prove that there is no blame to be attached to the East India Company respecting the consumption of tea; but the very contrary), are the productions in abundance of divers civilized countries and fruitful climes, not confined like tea to the cultivation of one soil or the manufacture of one people, and that people the most irksome to deal with of any on the face of the globe.

Importations and re-exportations of wine into and from Great Britain.

Years.	Tons imported.	Tons re-exported.	Home consumption.
1809	49,762	14,501	35,261
1810	47,058	12,729	34,329
1811	20,787	5,928	14,864
1812	35,082	6,716	28,366
1813	no returns	no returns.	
1814	31,465	11,838	29,627
1815	30,874	5,855	25,019
1816	18,218	5,163	13,055
1817	27,073	4,457	22,616
1818	35,763	4,021	31,742
1819	23,408	3,843	19,565
1820	22,782	4,625	18,157

Average annual consumption during the *first* five years	28,489 tons.
Ditto, during the *last* five years	21,027
Average annual diminution	7,462! *

* The average annual diminution in the Excise during the last five years was 140,000*l.* yearly!

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Thus far the East India Company have not a right t be blamed by Mr. Crawford for depriving the people o wine, and on reference to the excise returns, I find th the Chancellor of the Exchequer will scarcely venture t complain of the "*positive or relative decline of the te duties*" when he compares them with those derived fro wine.

I take two periods of five years each since the peace i Europe, as the fairest way of judging. The duties durin the *first period* were as follows; on French wines 11*s*. 5*d* per gallon; Madeira, 7*s*. 8*d*.; Portugal, 7*s*. 7*d*.; Spanisl 7*s*. 7*d*.; Rhenish, 9*s*. 4*d*. During the *second period*, th duties were reduced on the foregoing wines to 7*s*. 3*d* 4*s*. 10*d*., 4*s*. 10*d*., 4*s*. 10*d*., 4*s*. 10*d*., and according to ge neral principles the revenue *ought to have increased;* if th duty on tea had been lowered, and the revenue had no increased, the tocsin of alarm would soon have bee sounded.

NET REVENUE RECEIVED FROM WINE IN GREAT BRITAIN.

	Years.	Revenue.	Years.	Revenue.	Years.	Revenue.
	1814	..2,032,840*l*.	1815	..2,095,299*l*.	1816	..1,610,299*l*
	1824	..1,967,953*l*.	1825	..1,815,053*l*.	1826	..1,270,118*l*
Decrasing Revenue.		..64,877*l*.		280,246*l*.		340,181*l*.

	Years.	Revenue.	Years.	Revenue.
	1817	..2,023,072*l*.	1818	..2,241,380*l*.
	1827	..1,426,550*l*.	1828	..1,506,122*l*.
Decreasing Revenue		...597,170*l*.		735,258*l*.

In the above table it will be observed there is a *steady progressive* decrease to the revenue; it remains to be seen, but it is to be hoped, and may indeed be expected that the present scale of wine duties will have a beneficial effect in checking this decrease.

As a matter of curiosity I will refer to the consumption of another article, which exhibits the deplorable effect of high duties.

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Home consumption of Glass.

	Flint and Plate Glass.	Broad Glass.	Glass Bottles.
	CWTS.	CWTS.	CWTS.
Four years, to 1793....	190,000....	90,000....	881,000
Four years, to 1825* ..	167,000....	34,000....	697,000
Decreased consumption....	23,000	56,000	184,000 !

I will glance at the revenue derived from a few other sources; it will be perceived that in the following item, there has been a *decrease* for five years:—

Revenue from Stamps.

1828.....7,317,609*l.*	1831.....6,605,000*l.*
1829.....7,317,819*l.*	1832.....6,500,000*l.*
1830.....7,248,083*l.*	

In the post-office department I find that notwithstanding the increased intelligence, population and wealth of the people, and the great facilities for intercourse which has taken place within the last few years, yet the revenue from the post-office was:—

In 1812..1,400,000*l.*	1830..1,358,000*l.*
1828..1,400,000*l.*	1831..1,391,000*l.*

Such is the effect of high duties, which will be also apparent in the following object of taxation.

Net Revenue from Marine Insurances.

In 1814. 418,000*l.*..1825. 371,000*l.*, and in 1826. 199,000*l.*

But it has been said that the staple articles of other countries have lessened in price, why should not tea do so likewise? This observation I have demonstrated to be incorrect in the previous pages referring to sugar, coffee, &c.† I will now refer to the Indian article of Indigo; in which there is the fullest competition, so much so that of late years the agents in Bengal, have contracted all their advances to the Indigo planters, and there is, I believe, a mere nominal duty on the article.

* The consumption of flint glass has increased since 1825, in consequence of the duty having been lowered, but the consumption of the other kinds is very little augmented.

† The *decrease* in the whole revenue between 1831 and 1832 is 4,015,000*l.*!

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Average Prices* of Indigo for Six Years.

	Fine Bengal.	Ordinary Bengal.
1815-16 & 1817..	7*s*. 0*d*. to 10*s*. 4*d*.	4*s*. 9*d*. to 6*s*. 8*d*.
1825-26 & 1827..	11*s*. 2*d*. to 12*s*. 8*d*.	6*s*. 8*d*. to 9*s*. 0*d*.
Increased Price..	3*s*. 10*d*. to 2*s*. 4*d*.	1*s*. 11*d*. to 2*s*. 2*d*.

I do not think the foregoing requires comment, I will therefore give one more statement, namely, the price of rice in London, during the last few years, which will also be found to have *increased* in price within the last ten years, notwithstanding the cheapness of the article in India, and the necessity which many vessels were under of quitting Bengal in ballast for want of freight.

Price of Rice in London.

	1820.	1822.	1824.
Per cwt.	9*s*. to 12*s*.	9*s*. to 12*s*.	18*s*. to 22*s*.
	1826.	1828.	1830.
Per cwt.	14*s*. to 18*s*.	15*s*. to 18*s*.	16*s*. to 20*s*.

It must be admitted that the foregoing facts relative to sugar, coffee, wine, tobacco, indigo, rice, spirits, &c. completely disprove Mr. Crawfurd's allegation that the East India Company make the people of England, "*pay a double price for* a certain *necessary of life* (*!*) called tea, and put them on a *short allowance of such necessary*;" and also that the string of charges against the Company's "*monopoly*" viz. "as a tax *costly in the collection beyond any other*"*!*—"injurious to industry," "detrimental to the *morals* and *comforts* of the people," "unproductive in a fiscal view," "*uncertain in amount*"*!* and "yearly falling off"!!! Every one of these allegations I have demonstrated to be *most unfounded*.

To dilate on the subject would be supererogatory, I shall therefore close this branch of the subject by giving the following return of the quantity of tea retained for home consumption during the last ten years; from which it will be seen that there has been a steady progressive *increase every year*, although the Government most impru-

* Derived from the London Price Current, as given in a work on the Commerce of Great Britain.

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dently raised the already heavy duty of 96 per cent., 4 per cent. more, notwithstanding the *lowering* of the duty on coffee, and the consequent diminished cost of the article, which has tended so much to extend the taste for that beverage

Mr. Crawfurd, in his pamphlet on the "Chinese Monopoly Examined," gives the following table of the quantity of tea sold by the East India Company for ten years.

1819......	25,960,287 lbs.	1824......	28,467,160 lbs.
1820......	26,095,234	1825......	29,433,211
1821......	28,024,362	1826......	29,279,613
1822......	27,599,866	1827......	29,687,856
1823......	27,632,044	1828......	30,138,217
Total	135,411,803 lbs.	Total	147,006,057 lbs.

First five years	135,411,803 lbs.
Last five years	147,006,057 lbs.
Increased sale	11,584,254 lbs.

It is indeed to be hoped that such powerfully convincing arguments as these figures afford will have their proper weight with the nation, and that it will award to the East India Company the credit to which that body are so eminently entitled.

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CHAPTER II.

The British public have been repeatedly told, and b none more boldly than Mr. Crawfurd, that it is onl requisite to destroy the East India Company, and im mense wealth must immediately flow into England fror China; that we may clothe the one hundred and fifty million of Chinese with cottons and woollens (Vide Mr. Craw furd's evidence before the Commons, p. 351), that th Chinese are an eminently social, intelligent, active, com mercial people (Vide do.) very fond of foreign trade, an engaging extensively in it (Vide do.) Now let th public hear what Mr. Crawfurd thought before he becam a "*disinterested*" opponent of the East India Company In the year 1830, Mr. Crawfurd, in the pamphlet befor referred to, sneers in no set terms against the *Quarterl Review* for describing the Chinese as "*very unsocial,*" and then proceeds to say, that it is the East India Com pany, not the Chinese Government, who have restricte *foreign* importations into China. Such being Mr. Craw furd's opinion in 1830, let us see what it was in 1820 while there was every inducement to state the real fact of the case.

Mr. Crawfurd's Opinions of the Chinese, in 1820.

"*The Chinese are indeed a jealous and* UNSOCIAL *people and are far from having arrived at that point of civilizatio when men are prompted, by their passion for gain, to get ri of some share of their* ANTIPATHY TO STRANGERS, *and t perceive the* BENEFITS OF A FOREIGN *commerce*"! page 169 Indian Archiplago. London, 1820.

"*Their extensive empire extends over so many climes containing necessarily such various productions, easily dis tributed throughout by an extensive inland navigation, that they stand apparently in* LITTLE NEED OF FOREIGN COMMERCE. *Other causes contribute. The sea-coast of China*

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is small in proportion to the area of the country, and to the population; IT IS DANGEROUS TO NAVIGATE," &c. p. 169.

Again,

"*The Government of China expresses, therefore,* AN AVOWED HOSTILITY TO FOREIGN COMMERCE AND TOLERATES IT, RATHER THAN PROTECTS IT!!!"

Again,

"*The Indian Islands' trade they are* LEAST JEALOUS OF: *it brings them productions on which they put a* REAL VALUE, AND THE WEAKNESS *of those with whom it is carried on, disarms them of all political jealousy.*" p. 169.

I cannot avoid quoting a few more of Mr. Crawfurd's opinions on these subjects ten years ago, when he had all his recollections fresh about him, and the free-trade emporium of Sincapore (which no one admires the wisdom of Sir S. Raffles in establishing, more than the writer of these pages), was not able to drive from his head the actual facts of the case, as they presented themselves to his then unbiassed imagination.

MR. CRAWFURD'S OPINION OF THE HONG MONOPOLY.

"Whatever be the foreign trade conducted by the subjects of China, the invariable practice of the Government is to place it in *the hands of a few individuals,* who become answerable that it shall be conducted *under all the restrictions and conditions required by law.*" Indian Archipelago, p. 170.

The next extract I shall make is peculiarly applicable to the present period, when a party are strenuously calling out for *forcing a free-trade* with China, and that party being Mr. Crawfurd's, I trust they will weigh well his opinions, when he advises them "*to submit to what they cannot change, and to make the best of our situation;*" if not, as Mr. Crawfurd said in 1820, we shall have "*to pay an expensive tax for our restless ambition;*" but I had better quote the passage entire, it will perhaps be attended to by some members of the legislature, who deem Mr. Crawfurd's opinions infallible.

"*The* IRREVOCABLE EDICTS *of the Chinese Government, by confining our trade to a single port, forbid freedom of intercourse with the tea districts; the cost of conducting it by a more circuitous and expensive channel is* THE TAX WE PAY

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FOR OUR RESTLESS AMBITION, *an ambition which has compelled a numerous, and industrious people, who once freely admitted us into all their ports, to place us under limitations. It remains for us only to* SUBMIT TO WHAT WE CANNOT CHANGE TO MAKE THE BEST OF OUR SITUATION !" &c. p. 528.

Such were Mr. Crawfurd's uninfluenced opinions, when he was not a well-paid patriotic advocate against the Company; let the impartial reader compare them with those he now utters with such an oracular dignity, that it might be thought no one understood the bearings of an intricate commerce, but himself. Laying aside for the moment his pamphlets and parliamentary evidence, I turn to the Edinburgh Review for January, 1831, in which I find an article of Mr. Crawfurd's 56 pages long (!) which may be viewed as a concentration of all the venom that had been concocted since 1827. At page 302, he says, "*it is a radical mistake to suppose that no commerce can be carried on with the Chinese except through the port of Canton !*"

It fortunately happens for Mr. Crawfurd's *first* expressed opinion, that the Americans, whose keenness and sagacity for discovering new places for commerce have never been *surpassed,* indeed I might assert, *equalled;* that these enterprising traders, whose commercial speculations have led them even to the harbour of Bembatok in Madagascar, where they are engaged four months in the year slaughtering cattle, and *drying several thousand tons of meat in the sun,* for exportation to the Havannah, and other places,—that they have not yet discovered the "*radical mistake*"; and that the Spaniards, notwithstanding the proximity of their settlement at Manilla, and their nominal privilege of trading at Amoy, that they also have not found out this "*radical mistake !*"

The next passage in the Edinburgh Review which I shall quote, is quite the antipode of Mr. Crawfurd's *deliberately* expressed opinions in his work on the "Indian Archipelago," and which I have before given, wherein he describes the Chinese as a "*jealous and unsocial people,*—in a great measure independent of foreign European commerce,—and not having as yet reached that point in

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civilization when "*some share* of antipathy to strangers" is overcome, for the sake of pecuniary profit. But since the foregoing was penned and published, a new light has shed its rays over Mr. C's judgment, and he has now discovered that "*whatever peculiarities may attach to the Chinese,* AN ANTIPATHY TO COMMERCE OR TO STRANGERS *is not one of them.*" The late proceedings at Canton demonstrate most unequivocally, that they feel themselves perfectly independent of our commerce, and the former threat of "stopping the trade" has had no effect in lessening the grievous and insulting regulations to which they subject *all foreigners,* whether incorporated or single. In this instance also, the public will see that Mr. Crawfurd's *first* expressed opinion was true, and that the latter is most *positively contradicted* by painful experience. At pages 315 and 306 of the Review, I find the two following expressions, which are also in direct variance with the heretofore declared opinions of the writer, as above given, and nullified by another quotation from the "Indian Archipelago," which I shall place in juxta position:—

MR. CRAWFURD'S OPINIONS IN 1830.

"All that the Company and its advocates have said about the monopoly being necessary, because of the *peculiar nature of the Chinese character and institutions, falls to the ground;* it has been proved to be destitute even of the shadow of a foundation."—Edinburgh Review, page 306.

Again:—"Every assertion put forward by the Company has been disproved. All their *fables* about the difficulty of carrying on an intercourse with so 'peculiar' a race as the Chinese, have vanished like 'the baseless fabric of a vision.' And it appears that the *only real difficulty* in the way of the most extensive intercourse with the Chinese and the neighbouring nations, is their own (the Company's, I presume Mr. Crawfurd means, though

MR. CRAWFURD'S OPINIONS IN 1820.

"The perpetual fear which the monopoly companies (i. e. the East India Company) are in *of losing so valuable an immunity* as that of trading with China, is *the cause of a nicety of conduct on their part in their intercourse with the Chinese!*"—Crawfurd's "*Indian Archipelago,*" p. 248.

"The government of China expresses an hostility to foreign commerce, and tolerates, rather than protects it!!"—*Idem,*

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the expression bears the interpretation of its referring to the Chinese) oppressive privileges."—*Idem*, page 315.

page 169.

"The Chinese are indeed a jealous and unsocial people !!!"—*Idem*, page 169.

It may be permitted to ask Mr. Crawfurd which of these statements he is desirous the public should believe to be true; for, notwithstanding the opinion that he evidently entertains of their gullibility, he can scarcely expect them *to credit both*?

His Majesty's ministers, at the present crisis, will derive perhaps comfort from the annexed passage in the *Edinburgh*, in which Mr. Crawfurd informs them that "even were the Chinese government hostile to foreign commerce, which they are not, they are *without the means of putting a stop to it*, or even of *subjecting it to any very serious difficulties*."* pp. 593. The British *free traders* at Canton (!) hold quite a different opinion from Mr. Crawfurd, whose self-sufficient dogmas are unsupported by a local knowledge of China, or personal experience in trade. A remonstrance was presented in July last to the Foo-yuen and Hoppo at Canton, by the British merchants *not in the Company's service*, complaining most bitterly against the trade regulations enforced by the Canton authorities and sanctioned by the Emperor of China;—in this remonstrance,† the merchants state, that "*the Chinese government regulations are directly contrary to justice and moral fitness*, and are so *subversive of commerce as actually to strike at the very basis on which it is founded, viz. reciprocal wants, reciprocal advantages, and equal freedom*." A little further on these merchants proceed to observe, without paying any regard to the pledged and all but sworn to opinions of Messrs. Crawfurd, Whitmore, Buckingham, and Co., that "*the whole tenor of the regulations is unjust, and highly offensive to the feelings of foreigners*;"—*that* "*it is impossible to submit to the proposed code*;—that "*they are justly entitled to protection for themselves and their property*;"

* He does not know, I suppose, that they effectually stopped the trade in Admiral Drury's case,—at the *Topaze* disturbance, and with the Americans.

† Printed in the sixth chapter.

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—that "*the Hong merchants have not the power to protect them;*"—that "*they may be compelled to resort to the* OLD *and troublesome custom of bringing up armed sailors for their safety!*"—that they are obliged to congregate "*in bodies of more than one or two, for protection against the violence of the police officers and soldiers, who have the audacity to attack those seeking justice with abuse, and even blows!*" and we find that the British unincorporated merchants at Canton "*protest and appeal to the Emperor against the adoption of rules which would certainly make life miserable and property insecure!!!*" These are melancholy truths for Mr. Crawfurd *et id genus omne,* who have abused and vilified every person who dares to say a word about *difficulty* in carrying on commerce with the Chinese. But before I say more on this subject, I cannot help adverting to a point which is thrust before the public in all Mr. Crawfurd's Protean writings, whether in the *Edinburgh* or *Westminster* reviews, the *East India Magazine,* the *Spectator* journal, or the *Times* newspaper, in all which publications this active partizan endeavours to delude the nation: the point to which I refer is the Company's establishment at Canton; an establishment which is paid at the moderate rate of two per cent. on their commerce, while the private merchant generally charges five per cent., often more! In the *Edinburgh Review* and in every other possible publication, Mr. Crawfurd holds up the Company's servants at Canton as a set of gentlemen who are paid high salaries "*for doing next to nothing,*" and who "*after living for a dozen years in luxurious idleness at Canton or Macao, return to England with overgrown fortunes, wrung from the pockets of the tea drinkers!*"—*Edinburgh Review,* pp. 289.

Before I give the opinions of the British residents at Canton on this point, and where, as I said before, Mr. Crawfurd has *never been,* it may be observed, that a gentleman, after a liberal collegiate education in England, proceeds to Canton, where he resides for about *fourteen years* with but little pecuniary advantage, subject to daily insults, and even with his "life endangered," or rendered "miserable," as the British merchants before quoted state; —the morning of existence is spent in studying a lan-

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guage of most difficult attainment,—secluded from female society,—banished from the civilized world, and confined for months and months within the walls of a house, without any hope of realizing an independence sufficient to return to Europe with under, at least, less than *twenty-five years' misery!* But let the public hear what those English merchants who are now residing at Canton, *not in the Company's service,* say on this topic, in their petition to the House of Commons against the sufferings they are enduring in China, which petition was presented by Sir Robert Peel in June last.

"It is unnecessary to occupy the time of your Honourable House, by dwelling on the individual and national loss, arising from this oppressive and corrupt system. [Referring to the conduct of the Chinese authorities, respecting the impediments thrown in the way of intercourse with foreigners.] It would be equally out of place to enter into a detail of the *many studied indignities heaped upon foreigners by the acts of this Government,* and by contumelious edicts placarded on the walls of their very houses, *representing them as addicted to the most revolting crimes,* with no other object than to stamp them in the eyes of the people as a barbarous, ignorant, and depraved race, every way inferior to themselves, thereby *exciting the lower orders to treat them with habitual insolence.* Suffice it to say, that *no privation or discomfort is too minute to escape notice,* in the pursuit of this ever present purpose. *Free air and exercise are curtailed,* by precluding access to the country, or beyond the confined streets in the immediate vicinity of their habitations. *Even the sacred ties of domestic life are disregarded, in the separation of husband and wife, parent and child,* rendered unavoidable by a capricious prohibition against foreign ladies residing in Canton, for which there appears to be no known law, and no other authority than the plea of usage."

I question very much, whether Mr. Crawfurd would exchange his splendid residence in Regent-street, with his 1500*l.* a year, clerks, &c., for a residence of "*luxurious idleness*" as he terms it at Canton, and twenty or thirty years *separation from his wife and children!* A taste of such "luxuries" as the petition describes would cure him of insensate vituperation for twelve months. As so much has been said relative to the expense, and inutility, of the factory at Canton, nay even of their throwing impediments in the way of British and American free-traders* it becomes a duty to look more narrowly into the subject. I shall first give the opinions of the free-merchants before mentioned, as declared in their petition to Parliament in 1831.

"Your petitioners consider it a duty which they owe to *truth and justice* to declare to your Honourable House, that they attribute the evils which have

* Vide Mr. Crawfurd in the *Edinburgh Review,* p.p. 295 *et passim*

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been enumerated to the nature and character of the Chinese Government, and *not to any want of proper sprit and firmness in the agents of the East India Company,* who have on various occasions *opposed effectual resistance to many of them, which could not have been attempted by individuals pursuing their separate nterests, and not connected by any bond of union.* The servants of the Company have insisted on being heard by the Government, and have maintained the right of addressing it in the Chinese language, when that has been denied to other foreigners. *Privileges have thus been repeatedly gained, and the most serious evils averted.!*"

Such is the manly and candid testimony of British merchants residing in China, whose importations amount in value to about *sixteen million of dollars annually!*

The British merchants still further to mark their sense of the advantages, derivable from the East India Company's factory at Canton, forwarded a copy of their petition to the Select Committee, soliciting their "co-operation," to which the following answer was returned, which will demonstrate whether the Company are justly entitled to the opprobrious language heaped on them in this country, but which their fellow-subjects abroad have so justly repudiated as calumnious and false.

"To William Jardine, Esq., and the British subjects resident in China whose names are subscribed to the petition to the House of Commons.

"We beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter accompanying a copy of the petition addressed by you to the House of Commons entreating the interposition of the legislature for redress of those grievances and oppressions, to which you are subjected by the Government of this country.

"*The amelioration of the condition of the British subjects in China has ever been the earnest desire of the representatives of the East India Company. It is too intimately connected with their own immediate respectability and interests to have been otherwise.* [This was uttered to persons who felt conscious of its truth.] *It is a subject which can never be remote from our anxious consideration,* and it is to us a source of agreeable reflection that such privileges and immunities as have been gained, or preserved, are attributable, not so much to any merits or exertions of its servants, as to the existence of a powerful and influential body, independently of its commercial transactions, known to possess the Government of one of the largest empires in Asia, and which, in the absence of any other diplomatic interference with Great Britain (and that interference has been tried and failed), has, we believe, afforded the only effectual means of resisting the innovations and oppressions to which foreign commerce with China is unceasingly exposed.

"We have felt it our duty to forward to the Court of Directors a copy of your petition to Parliament, accompanied with our opinion on the leading subjects to which it has reference.

"We are, Gentlemen, Your most obedient Servants.
(Signed) Charles Majoribanks,
J. F. Davies.
J. N. Daniell.
Canton, 3rd. January, 1831. T. C. Smith."

Although it might be considered unnecessary to say one word more on this head, yet as the establishment of the Company's factory at Canton, is scarcely sufficiently

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appreciated in England, and has been shamefully vilified, I shall quote a few other testimonies in its favour, more particularly as they tend to shew the risk run in destroying an influence, which is universally admitted by all who have had any experience on the subject, as being invariably exerted for the benefit of foreign commerce.

Walter Stevenson Davidson, Esq., a free English merchant who resided for twelve years in China, and carried on an extensive commerce, gave in the following important testimony to the Parliamentary Committee, as to the merits of the East India Company and their factory at Canton; the candid evidence of this gentleman, will be the better estimated on hearing that he was subject to the restrictions which the Company's charter sanctions, and hence resided at Canton and Macao as a naturalized Portuguese; he, however, had too much good sense not to discriminate between immunities conferred on an incorporated association for the benefit of the public, and those which are granted for private advantage.

Mr. Davidson says, "*he would be exeeedingly sorry to settle in Canton, but for the power of the Company to protect the commerce he conducted;*" that "*in common with all foreigners, he derived advantages from the circumstance of a powerful body like the East India Company possessing important influence in consequence of their great character, and extensive trade;*' that "*he considers the influence of the Company a most valuable counterpoise to the Hong;*" that "*had it not been for the existence of the East India Company the British trade could not be carried on;*" that "*the exactions, opposition and injustice of the Chinese government are so great, that no individual would be fool-hardy enough to send his property on shore in that country, but from a knowledge that a body like the East India Company is there to countenance it.*"

The testimony of this witness is of the utmost importance, because of his decided advocacy of free trade principles, and from his extensive local experience, as a British free merchant, in China; whereas, Messrs. Crawfurd, Rickards, Buckingham, &c. have *never visited* that

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country, and yet they elevate themselves as the sole guides for the legislature to follow the advice of:—and here let me inquire, what are the qualifications of those gentlemen to form an opinion on a subject of such deep interest to the whole nation, and which the public are now madly called on to risk, by men who, I fear, can be viewed in no other light than as trading or political agitators, and who, whatever may be the purity of their motives, must, so far as their public actions are concerned, be judged of by the part they have followed on this intricate subject. Mr. Rickards went to Bombay, in 1789,* as a writer, and filled several subordinate situations in the revenue line; was afterwards private secretary to Mr. Duncan, successively a commissioner in Malabar, chief secretary at Bombay, collector at Malabar, and member of council, never was in China, and has not been in India *these twenty years!* No reasoning individual will put Mr. Rickards' *speculative opinions* in competition with Mr. Davidson's *practical experience,* who first visited China, in 1807, resided there afterwards for twelve years, and carried on a most extensive commerce; as I purport quoting some more of Mr. Davidson's evidence, I will pass on to the consideration of what weight is due to Mr. Crawfurd's hypotheses, first observing, that Mr. Rickards has a direct *personal interest* in destroying the present system of carrying on the China trade, for he is now engaged in Eastern commerce and agency, and with the extensive mercantile house of Dent and Co. at Canton; his evidence mnst, therefore, be received on the China question *cum grano salis;* as respects the revenue custom of the part of India in which he resided, no person is entitled to more deference than Mr. Rickards, and the liberality of his views, as respects the Hindoos, command for him the esteem of all men, who have the happiness of their fellow creatures at heart. Mr. Crawfurd went out to India as an assistant-surgeon in the Company's service, was employed in various capacities in several parts of the East, *was never engaged in trade,* and *never visited China!* To this gentleman a good deal of merit is to be attached

* Mr. Rickards' evidence before the Lords, p. 522.

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for the statistical details he has collected, respecting the Indian Archipelago,* and the unbiassed opinions which he formed on the China trade, *while residing at Sincapore,* offer, when contrasted with his present sentiments (not expressed before the Parliamentary committees, but in anonymous, irresponsible pamphlets, in the Edinburgh Review, &c. &c. &c.), a melancholy proof of the frailty of human nature, and the effects of pecuniary interests over an intelligent mind. Even if Mr. Crawfurd possessed a local or practical knowledge of the China trade, the very situation he is now filling must make the public narrowly scrutinize his writings, and the motives which give rise to them. As I before said, Mr. Crawfurd by means of the firm of Messrs. Palmer and Co. at Calcutta, was appointed a Parliamentary agent in this country, with the munificent salary of 1500*l*.† a year, and extras, for the purpose of opposing the Calcutta Stamp Act; that opposition proved futile; Mr. Crawfurd's, like Othello's, occupation was "*gone*" until he took up the new business of enlightener-general of the British public on the China trade, by which the continuance of his salary from a few agency houses in Calcutta was secured with allowances, &c. from Liverpool. Having passed the Rubicon of conciliation, and flung aside all remembrance of *nineteen years'* kindness from the East India Company, he has, like many men, indulged in a torrent of abuse and invective, and is now irrecoverably pledged as a *political partizan,* who must sink or swim with his cause. Surely, no reliance on assertions unsupported by the most positive facts can be given to Mr. Crawfurd, who has ceased to be regarded as a disinterested witness. Respecting Mr. Buckingham, very few words need be said. *He also has never been in China,* or engaged in trade; he is a pledged political partizan, as well as Mr. Crawfurd, with the most hostile feelings against the East India Company on personal grounds, and aware that his only chance for again elevating himself above the capricious freaks of fortune, is by holding out promises

* Partly gleaned from Millburn's "Oriental Commerce."
† Vide Mr. Crawfurd's evidence in the Commons, p. 463.

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to the manufacturers of Sheffield, &c. which there is not the slightest probability of being realised, but in the natural order of things which the revolutions of time produce. I believe Mr. Buckingham to be a well-meaning man, as I know him to be an enthusiast and a highly-intelligent individual, as regards the countries he has visited; but with respect to the China trade, he is, in common with Mr. Rickards and Mr. Crawfurd, as incompetent to form an opinion as a person who never quitted the British shores. Such are the evidences by which the Imperial Parliament is called on to annihilate an association, by a simple negative, whose transactions are of a magnitude and intricacy beyond those of the United Kingdom, as a few figures will demonstrate.

PECUNIARY CONCERNS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY SINCE THE LAST RENEWAL OF THEIR CHARTER.*

East India Company's gross receipts and disbursements since 1814.......... £478,103,911 !!!

Disbursements in India.	Civil Establishments..	£117,606,336
	Military..do........	137,253,467
	Interest on Indian Debt	24,051,666
	St. Helena..........	1,362,256
		£280,273,725 *sterling.*

Remitted to England by the Company.	Through India since 1814..£	12,920,937
	Through China....do.....	11,417,113
		£ 24,338,050

Tea duties paid into the British Exchequer by the East India Company since the last renewal of their charter..................£63,745,324 !†

Sale amount of India investments from 1814 to 1828............................	£27,109,120
Sale amount of China investments for do.....	56,140,981
	£83,240,101 ‡

* Up to the latest period at which the several accounts can be made up.

† At the small annual charge of ten thousand pounds a year !

‡ This sum is now upwards of *one hundred million sterling !!!*

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Opium and private trade between India and China ....£51,000,000 sterling

To the foregoing enormous sums may be appended accumulations of fortunes remitted to England from India and China, and allowances for families resident here..............................£18,000,000 sterling

If to these vast considerations be added the fact of 1,180,000 square miles of territory, and *one hundred and twenty million of souls,* directly or indirectly dependant on, or subject to the sway of the East India Company an idea may be formed of the immense interests involved in the Company's charter; and the reader will scarcely think that I can be too minute in my statements, or too strenuous in my efforts to expose the sophistries and untruths which have unblushingly been palmed on the British public, to an extent which can only be accounted for by the parties making them being well aware that the nation at large are not conversant with Indian affairs, and according to the opinion of profligate statesmen, a bold, straightforward lie will often serve the purpose of the moment, before its detection can be made!

I have been led into a digression from Mr. Davidson's examination before the House of Lords and the House of Commons on this, I may call it, paramountly important topic, but I now resume the detail of the manly evidence of this unprejudiced witness, whose declarations of facts are worth a million of the crude theories pompously put forth by the opponents of the *best interests of the nation;* for as matters now stand, and in the present state of Europe, they are identified with the continued existence of the East India Company, subject to such modifications as the spirit of the age may, with safety to all parties, carefully adopt.

Mr. Davidson was asked, "what were the *exactions* which the Chinese government attempted to carry into effect, and which the East India Company successfully resisted?" The answer is worthy of particular attention; it demonstrates the power which, as I said in my preface, a combination of wealth and talent is capable of exert-

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ing for the general weal; it is a realization of the fable of the bundle of rods,* which, *united* were strong, but *single* weak. "*In the year* 1814 *the Chinese government attempted to make the Hong monopoly more close than it had ever been before; and had not the East India Company's authority resisted upon that occasion, it is impossible to say the lengths to which the Chinese would have gone,* in taxing both the imports and exports at their own capricious pleasure, *and consequently, in diminishing the profits and increasing the hazard of private individuals!*" The power of the East India Company broke up another combination in 1819, which had been entered into by the manufacturers of black tea, the annual purchase of which is about 1,500,000*l.* sterling; the manufacturers endeavoured to carry their point by union and perseverance, but were met by the East India Company in as decisive a manner; for on the 22nd of December, the factory in full consultation, resolved to "convince the Chinese that the apprehension of the expense and inconvenience to which the Company were exposed by the detention of their ships, should not induce them to swerve from the resolutions they had deemed it right to form, or by conceding to the attempted innovations, permit a system to be established, which it would *hereafter be out of their power to subvert.*"* The select committee moreover stated, "we consider the terms proposed, and the threats held out by this body to be so perfectly inadmissible, that *any alternative is preferable to submission.*"

The result of this firmness was, that the manufacturers' combination was destroyed on the 11th of January, and thus the general interests of Great Britain were promoted by an *incorporated* body of merchants, which *single* could never have acccomplished it. Mr. Davidson says at page 832, that "*the Company's factory resisted firmly, vigorously, and successfully, many grievances: the Chinese attempted to take away our servants; at one time they resisted the valuable right of communicating in the*

* Canton Consultations in 1819.

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Chinese language, which the East India Company gained after a great battle; they attempted, I think, to prevent the passage of letters from Macao to Canton; they exacted fees on trifling articles of baggage at Canton, and so forth." The next answer of Mr. Davidson's which I shall quote is eminently deserving of consideration, particularly at the present moment: the query was, what other advantages were derived from the existence of the East India Company at Canton?

"In the past and present state of non-intercourse (says Mr Davidson) between the government of this country and that of China it would be *truly hazardous and rash* for any British merchant to settle there, and trust his property in the hands of such an unjust and extortionate government, without any protecting power to look up to; and, therefore, so long as the present state of things exist in China, I conceive the East India Company is *a most valuable protection to all British interests;* their fleet visiting China every season, consisting of about twenty ships efficiently equipped, and the influence of their *resident servants both from the excellent character they have generally borne,* and the large extent of property always under their charge, having enabled the British factory to *bestow great benefits on individual British traders,* as well as on other foreign traders!"

This is the factory which Mr. Crawfurd describes in the *Edinburgh Review as "neither more nor less than a convenient device for enriching the sons, brothers and near relatives of the Court of Directors,"* —being so well paid "*for doing—next to nothing; at least the American ships' captains do all that our super-cargoes do, and do it infinitely better!*" The impudent assertions of this man are really intolerable. In the next line of the *Edinburgh Review,* he proceeds to say, "*that so flagrant an abuse should have been tolerated for so long a period is indeed astonishing; but it will be far more astonishing should its existence be prolonged.*" On his second examination before the Lords, Mr. Davidson stated, that he thought the existence of the East India Company, as a trading company at Canton, afforded facilities *in the greatest degree* for remittances to India or to Europe; and at page 842, that "if the Chinese Hong monopoly be continued with an *open trade* to this country, it will always be *getting worse and more vexatious,*" and that "*without a previous understanding between the two governments, he sees no salvation for an open trade, in the absence of the power and political influence of the East India*

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Company!" Such are the undisguised sentiments of a free trade advocate, who thinks that nothing but force of arms will ever procure better terms for us in China, than those we now enjoy. At page 843, he states, "I resided some years in China conducting a large business; I have visited all the East India Company's presidencies in India, and I can with truth, as I do with pleasure bear the *strongest testimony to the liberal manner in which their government is conducted.* During my whole residence in China, I can with truth say, I cannot call to mind an instance in which the Company's representatives there, have proved *recreant in their sacred duties towards British trade in general; not even inattentive, far less inimical to its interests!"* Whether will the British public believe this English free merchant who has retired upon his fortune, and has no favour to seek,—or a political adventurer, who is living on the proceeds of his opposition to the East India Company?

I cannot forbear extracting a few pages of Mr. Davidson's testimony before the Commons. At page 320, he says, "the influence of the East India Company, who can and do *act with unity and vigour,* forms a counterpoise of *inestimable value* against the Hong monopoly, which *individuals could not form.* The absence of this counterpoise would have the direct effect of *decreasing* the price given for all the *imports,* and of *increasing* the prices demanded for all the *exports!"* At page 321 Mr. D. thinks "the *disadvantages* under the present system both *few and unimportant.*" At page 322 he is asked whether the East India Company's factory had given encouragement and protection to, or thrown impediments in the way of, individual British merchants in China? He replied that he "never knew the British factory throw a wilful impediment in the way of the British trade; and so long as that factory should continue to be constituted of the same materials as it was during his time—that is, of *well-educated, intelligent, patriotic,* and *honest men*—so long will they give encouragement to that trade." As the Englishmen in the Company's service have been so shamefully calumniated by Mr. Crawfurd in anonymous pamphlets and under the

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garb of an Edinburgh reviewer or newspaper editor, when they were many thousand miles distant, and unable to repel or chastise the petty malignity of sneering at the "*employés*,"* the "*gentlemen*"* of the factory, "*all honourable men*,"* "*pampered servants*,"† "lucky *coterie*,"‡ &c., I shall append another testimony to Mr. Davidson's; it is that of the Right. Hon. Robert Grant, who, in one of his recently-published works on Indian affairs, pays the following just tribute to what he terms "*a most meritorious and a most calumniated body*."

"There does not exist in the world an abler set of public functionaries than the civil servants of the Company; a set more distinguished for exercised and enlightened intellect, or for the *energy*, *purity*, and *patriotism* of their public conduct."

And again (147-48) he writes—

" .... an abler set of functionaries does not exist than the civil servants of the East India Company."

The opinions of Mr. Canning, Lord Melville, Lord Ellenborough, Lord William Bentinck, and of all men whose opinions are worth having are equally high as the Right Hon. Robert Grant's; and the writer of these pages, while serving as an officer in his Majesty's service, or residing as a private individual in the East, would add his humble testimony, derived from personal observation, that in no society can there be found a set of men more distinguished in the aggregate for profundity of talent, patient research, exalted heroism, comprehensive benevolence, or unyielding devotion to their country's interests, than are to be found in the civil and military services of the Honourable East India Company; or who have more permanently contributed to extend the glory, augment the wealth, and enlarge the boundaries of the British empire.

* Vide Edinburgh Review, No. CIV. p. 307. † p. 295. ‡ 289.

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CHAPTER III.

There is no portion of this truly important and national commerce about which more misrepresentation has been sedulously disseminated, than that which offers a comparison between the East India Company and American trade at Canton; the *former*, it is asserted, being rapidly on the decrease, and the *latter* as rapidly on the *increase*. This is another of the disgraceful falsehoods which have been put forth to serve the purpose of the moment, but which it is time should be exposed, as silent acquiescence to serious charges is considered to imply an admission of their truth.

The statement that the East India Company's trade was a forced one, and always verging towards decline, from its earliest period, is too generally believed; but how stand the facts of the case? I will examine their export and import trade, (exclusive of bullion) for *one hundred* years, deriving my figures from a writer that Mr. Whitmore and Mr. Crawfurd are fond of referring to: I allude to "Millburn on Eastern Commerce, whose tables are based on parliamentary official documents.

MERCHANDIZE EXPORTED FROM ENGLAND BY THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

Years.	Period.	Amount.
1708..to..1734	years 26	3,064,744*l.*
1734..to..1766	Ditto, 32	8,434,769*l.*
Total Number of	years..58	11,501,513*l.*
1766..to..1793	years 27	16,454,016
1793..to..1810	Ditto, 17	31,060,752
Total number of	years..44	47,514,768*l.*

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In the foregoing account it will be observed, that during the first fifty-eight years, the exports by the Company were *less* by *one-fourth* than what they were in the succeeding forty-four years; and in the last seventeen years the exports were *double* the amount of what they were in the preceding twenty-seven years!

Mr. Millburn adds, that from 1800, to 1810, the East India Company's *exports* amounted to 21,413,807*l.* sterling, "*more than one-half of which consisted of the staple manufacture of England, woollens!!*"

MERCHANDIZE IMPORTED INTO ENGLAND BY THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

Years.	Period.	Amount.
1708..to..1734	....years 26........	33,571,709*l.*
1734..to..1766	....Ditto,32........	64,452,377*l.*
Total number of years	..58........	88,024,086*l.*
1766..to..1793	....years 27........	101,382,792*l.*
1793..to..1810	....Ditto 17........	102,737,954*l.*
Total number of years	..44...	204,120,746*l.*

On a reference to the foregoing two tables it will be found, that the Company's *exports* had *increased* 124 per cent., between the first and second periods; between the second and third periods there was an *increase* on the former of 131 per cent.; and during the last interval a further *increase* of 131 per cent.! The averages of the exports were:—

First Period.	Second Period.	Third Period.	Fourth Period.	From 1800 to 1810.
117,876*l.*	263,586*l.*	609,408*l.*	1,827,108*l.*	2,141,380*l.*

Before proceeding to comment on the import table, a few observations are requisite as regards the export figures. It is asked, why did not the Company continue their export trade after the removal of the last charter, when we see that in 1794, the Company exported altogether goods to the value of 2,924,829*l*? The reason is obvious. Before the throwing open of the trade the East India Company had begun to lessen their exports to India; they learned what the Americans have since found out,

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and the free traders still later, that the *amount* of exports is not the best criterion of a valuable commerce, that a *little* trade with *small* profit is far better than a *great* trade with *no* profit,—that by the wild speculations of the free traders they could purchase in India every species of British goods *under prime cost*, without the expense of freight, insurance, interest, charges, &c.; stout "*six-quarter cloths*," for instance, at one rupee, twelve annas per yard; —lead at *half* its positive value;—Newcastle coals at *six annas per maund (!)* The free traders furnished the finest purpets at such a price that during the Burmese war the cartridge bags for the artillery were actually made from them. All sorts of metals, cordage, flannels, canvass, beer—as thousands can testify—did not realise often with twenty-five and thirty per cent. of the prime cost!* That the East India Company, as well as the Americans, acted wisely in withdrawing from this ruinous competition will be exemplified by looking at the manner in which a few articles were disposed of,—and it is especially deserving of notice, that every year since the throwing open the trade, new advantages have been opened for the free trader. In the first place, the great stimulus given to Asiatic commerce by the cessation of a long European war, when such a quantity of transport shipping was made available for trade,—the immense productive power of machinery,—the vast accession of territory, with a population of many millions, which has doubled the British dominions on the continent of Asia,—the quantity of capital set free from government loans,—the throwing open of the Malay peninsula,—the new commercial relations with foreign powers in the Gulph of Persia and to the West Indies,—the doubling of the East India Company's army since the last renewal of the charter, and the consequent increasing demand for military stores,—the heavy supplies requisite for expensive wars carried on during the period,—the advantages which the free traders derived from having had the way opened for them for several years by the East India Company,—and, in fine,

* Vide Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay price currents: it would be a waste of time to quote them.

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the progressive wants of the native community, for the supply of whom every possible facility was given by the Company.* Before proceeding to show the *official amount even* of the free trade, let the following table demonstrate what sort of a *profitable* business has been carried on for ten years, during which periods so many hundred persons engaged in it have become bankrupts, beggaring and ruining thousands by their fall.

* The following figures will show whether the free trader has, notwithstanding all these advantages, done so much as had been anticipated. It is but fair to set aside the exportation of cotton goods and twist, for that branch of commerce was unforeseen by all parties.

Total exports to the East Indies and China in 1828	£5,212,353
Deduct cottons - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	2,049,890
	£3,162,463
Deduct East India Company's exports - - - -	£1,098,810
Free trade exports in 1828 - - - - - - - - -	2,063,653
East India Company's exports, averaged from 1808 to 1810, by Milburn - - - - - - - - - - - -	£2,141,380
Balance in favour of the East India Company, in any year from 1810 ! - - - - - - - - - - - - -	£922,473

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TABLE exhibiting the Rate of Sales, at Calcutta, of the undermentioned Goods, in the years specified.

	1819.	1820.	1821.	1822	1823	1824.	1825.	1826.	1827.	1828.
Cottons	25 to 30 ꝑ C. *a*	25 to 20 ꝑ C. *a*	5 to 10 *a.*	5*d.p.c.* & 10 *a.*	5*d.p.c.* & 10 *a.*	15 to 20 *a.*	10 to 30 *a.*	10 to 20 *a.*	10 to 20 *a.*	5 *d.p.c.* & 5 *a.*
Woollens	10 ꝑ C. *a.*	20 to 30	20to25*d.* & *p.c.*	15to30*d.* & *p.c.*	*p.c.* and 5 *a.*	5 *d.* to *p. c.*	*p.c.*to5 & 10 *a.*	30 to 40 *a.*	15 to 20 *a.*	,,
Iron Swedish .	*srs. srs.* 6 to 7 ꝑ *f. md.*	6 8 to7 8ꝑ *f.m.*	4 10 to 5 10	5 3 to 5 8	5 to 6 7	6 to 7	6 to 7	6 to 7	6 8	6 to 7
Ditto British . .	*srs. srs.* 3 14 to 4 2	3 1S to 4 2	3 10 to 3 12	3 8 to 4 2	3 to 4	3 to 4 and 6	5 6	4 6	5 to 5 4	3 to 4
Steel	*crs. crs.* 8 to 8 12	7 12 to 8	7	5 to 7 and 8	6 to 7 8	6 4to 7 8 & 16†	6 to 9 10	9 13	10	10 to 19
Copper Sheet .	*srs.* 6	44 to 45	43 to 43 8 & 40	38 39 and 42	38 to 46 & 50	40 to 42 & 45	45 to 50	60 to 62	43 to 53	44 to 46
Tin Plates . . .	*srs.* 20 ꝑ box.	21 ꝑ box.	16 to 17	24 to 25	21 to 26 & 28	21 29 and 30	24 to 27 & 29	23 to 24	22 8 to 23	22 to 23
Lead	*srs. srs.* 7to7 10ꝑ *f.m.*	7 to 7 4	6 1 to 6 2	6 8 and 11 8*	7 to 8 and 9	7 to 8 4 & 9	11 to 13 & 16	10	9 to 11	6 to 7 12 & 3
Speltre	,,	,,	,,	21 to 23	22 to 23 12	16 to 20 & 21	13 to 14	13 to 14	9	7 to 7 9‡
Coals	*as.* 7 ꝑ *baz. md.*	1 4 to 1 8	1 18 to 2	12 to 1 4 & 1 8	13 to 1 & 1 2	1 to 1 2 & 1 12	1 8 to 1 9 & 2	1 12 to 2	9 to 10	6 7 and 8
White Lead . .	*crs.* 12 ꝑ *f. md.*	12 to 12 4	12	11 to 12 4	16 to 21 & 22	20 to 24	18 to 22 & 23	18 to 19	12	12 to 14 & 15

* The Burmah war made a sudden temporary call for metals, &c., as here seen. The increase in 1828 is simply from an adventitious cause as regards steel. † A very small quantity of lead 11*srs.* 8, in 1822. ‡ 1829, the present year, 6*srs.* 3.

srs. Sicca Rupees.
crs. Current Rupees.
a. Advance.
d Discount.
p c. Prime cost.
f. md. Factory maund.
baz.md. Bazaar maund.

Nota Bene.—It must be borne in mind that this table is founded on sales at *the first hand;* on *wholesale* investment, on their *immediate importation.* Much loss was often sustained after these transactions by the native purchasers and retailers. The sale at first hand and the *after disposal of the commodity to consumers are widely different.* It is notorious, that the new and old china bazaars, and the burra bazaar, have exhibited very few instances of profitable business of late, while the sacrifice and ruin, like those of 1818, have been frequent and extensive.

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However gratifying the foregoing may be for the closet politicians, it has proved far otherwise to the speculators; look at the prices of the article of speltre.

Year.	Per Maund.*	Year.	Per Maund.
In 1822	21 rupees	In 1826	13 rupees
1823	22	1827	9
1824	16	1828	7
1825	13	1829	6
	Average 18 rupees.		Average 9 rupees.

To this statement must be added, that purchasers at six rupees per maund were with great difficulty procured in 1829, and there was two or three years stock on hand *unsaleable at any price!* I should like to know if one member of parliament could be found who would blame the East India Company for not competing with the free traders in this or any other of their ruinous speculations; if the Company had done so, and they must have done so at a loss, Mr. Whitmore and Mr. Crawfurd would be the very first to re-echo the trite expression of Lord Grenville's about sovereigns and merchants, and the losing commerce which the Company attempt to carry on. Were the Company to compete with the free trader in the article of cotton goods, at an advance of ten per cent for several years, and out of that *profit* (!) to pay as the free trader had to do, the Calcutta duties,—five per cent agency commission,—two and a half per cent on remittance returns to Europe, if in goods, or one per cent if in bills,—auction dues and charges, which are extremely heavy in India,—and added to all this, the rupee at 1*s*. 10*d*. to 2*s*. instead of as formerly, 2*s*. 6*d*.—I ask any man possessed of the slightest practical mercantile knowledge to declare if the Company would under any circumstances be justified in entering into such competition? Look at the article of woollens in the foregoing table; in 1822 they were sold in immense quantities in Calcutta *at 20 per cent loss*, and in the years 1823-24-25, they would not ab-

* A maund is 82 lbs.

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solutely fetch prime cost, while every auction-room, go-down, and warehouse was literally crammed with them! What does Mr. Whitmore care for this?* His cry is "throw open the China trade, for you see what the free traders have done in Hindostan since that country was open to them." A little reflection would be sufficient to teach Mr. Whitmore that there is no parallel between China and Hindostan at all applicable to the question;—that the one is a portion of the British dominions, and the other an independent and all but hostile foreign country;—that in the one we have thrown millions of manufacturers out of employment by forcing on the country our cheap cottons, &c., while the following recent information from China will shew what reception our free traders are likely to meet with there, unless indeed England be determined to introduce her manufactures *at the point of the bayonet*, as has been so strenuously advised of late.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MACAO, DATED 2ND APRIL, 1831.

"In two districts in the immediate vicinity of Canton, and another about twenty miles distant from it, *very serious commotions* have taken place among the natives, *at the introduction of cotton yarn.* They loudly complain that it has deprived their women and children, who had previously been employed in the spinning of thread, of the means of subsistence. They have resolved not to employ the cotton yarn in their looms, and have expressed their *determination to burn any of it*, which may be brought to their villages. These districts are very populous, and the people, as is so generally the case in China, exceedingly industrious."

This account is confirmed by the Chinese correspondent of the "Morning Herald," who thus writes.

"The poor people of the provinces to the north east of Whampoa, finding themselves deprived of employment as spinners of cotton, in consequence of the importations of foreign cotton yarn, have stuck up placards in all the towns and villages, threatening instant death to any Chinese caught purchasing yarn in Canton and bringing it into their country. This measure has, for the present, so intimidated the small dealers of Canton, that business in that article is at a stand."

* Notwithstanding the Burmese and Bhurtpore wars, iron scarcely gave remunerating prices for a brief period; copper, from the same cause, received a temporary support, the quantity of transport shipping employed being very great, but when the numerous charges of freight, insurance, commission, customs, warehousing, auction dues, &c. be considered, some idea may be formed of the dreadful sacrifices made, which caused the appearance of so many India speculators in the London Gazette.

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The Chinese are perfectly aware that before the throwing open of the trade, viz. in 1813-14, the cotton manufactures *exported from India* to England amounted in value to 4,600,000 rupees; but the export has been gradually diminishing, until it now is less than 300,000 rupees worth, and all the native manufacturers, amounting to many thousands, have been driven even from their own extensive home market and completely ruined! The Chinese are doubtless of opinion that charity begins at home; and, however useful it may be to them to take their tea, they are too cunning to permit the impoverishment of some millions of their manufacturers, for the purpose of emptying over-stocked warehouses at Manchester, &c. or to give employment to the steam-engine cotton looms at Fort Gloucester on the Hoogly, an establishment, by the bye, which will soon begin to operate strongly against the home manufacturers.

That Mr. Whitmore and others, who form a comparison between Canton and Calcutta, may judge more rationally on the subject, a few more remarks may be offered, illustrative of the absurdity of coming to any conclusion which can by any possibility place them in a similar light. A large mercantile house is established at Calcutta, with a branch in London: The partnership formed of various individuals —one a retired civil servant of the Company—another a military man—a third a doctor—and a fourth a London merchant. They possess no *real capital*, but establish an agency and banking business; receive as deposits the accumulating fortunes of the East India Company's servants, and *trade on those deposits;*—occasionally borrowing at twelve per cent. to pay away again at six per cent! Paper money is easily coined; each agency house* issues its bank notes, unlimited, except according to its own discretion in amount, and thus ready funds are, if credit be good, always at hand:—partners retire to the house in London with nominal large fortunes, and every thing wears a prosperous appearance.

* I am speaking of the "five great agency houses," before the project of the "Union Bank" was set on foot.

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Remittances, however, must be provided for Europe, and the *deposited* money belonging to private individuals is lavishly expended in the purchase of indigo, &c.; for this a return must also be made from London; the branch partners persuade the over-stocked manufacturers to ship, or they receive upon credit immense stocks of goods, which shew well in the export list of the free trade, but which lie rotting in the godowns of Messrs. ——— and Co. at Calcutta, or are sold at less than prime cost,* as the Agency house requires funds for another remittance, and besides the net produce, is in want of the commission of five per cent, &c. &c. In fine, this system goes on for some time,—robbing Peter to pay Paul,—but a crash at last comes; one house fails for 4,000,000*l.* sterling, ingulphing all within its terrible vortex, except the other agency houses, who have had timely warning to save themselves, or with the instinct of rats, quit a falling house or sinking ship:—the firm of Messrs. ——— and Co. is defunct, and after the lapse of two or three years a dividend of *one anna in the rupee is declared!* Let Mr. Whitmore inquire, and he will find the foregoing a true picture of the free trade at Calcutta; he will also learn that repeated instances of such trading have occurred since 1815,—and moreover, that at the time of the failure of Messrs. Palmer and Co. nothing saved the other great agency houses in Calcutta, or prevented a blow-up of the whole system, but an immediat- loan by the abused East India Company ofseveral mile- lion of rupees! The attempt to form a comparison between Canton and Calcutta will be, therefore, seen to be ridiculous in the extreme.

Since the foregoing was written, I have received a valuable work on "the External Commerce of Bengal," dated Calcutta, 1830—and prepared by that distinguished oriental scholar, Horace Hayman Wilson, Esq., in which

* Best working sizes bar-iron at eight shillings per cwt.; cordage at twenty shillings per cwt.; copper, bolt and sheathing, at thirty rupees per maund; Hodgson's pale ale at twenty rupees per hogshead; claret and champaigne for "a song;" and perishable articles at a discount of fifty per cent, or quite unsaleable! This is free trade!

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I find among other instances of what Mr. Wilson aptly terms "*insane speculations*," the following corroboration of my former statements.

In 1818-19, the value of hats imported into Calcutta was 269,000 rupees, which at 20*s*. or 10 rupees a hat, would give 26,900 hats. As the military are provided from the public stores, and the natives never wear hats, it may be doubted if the hat wearers in Bengal exceed 3,000 persons; and taking all classes, they scarcely average a consumption of more than a hat and a half a year. The demand, at this rate, would have been 4,500 hats, and the *supply was consequently nearly equal to six* year's consumption! The imports of 1829—1830, scarcely exceeded in value 29,000 rupees each.!"

With respect to cotton piece goods Mr. Wilson says, "*the import has been carried to a ruinous extent!* In 1822-3, the value imported was nearly *six million six hundred thousand rupees*, since which it has fallen to little more than one-half!" He also states that "the selling prices were commonly 25 to 30 per cent. below the invoice rates:" on cotton twist, "heavy losses have been sustained upon the sale, averaging 35 per cent. upon the invoice cost:"—that "English claret which was imported in 1813-14, to the value of 650,000 rupees, is *reduced* to little more than 100,000 rupees!" Again, "Madeira has almost disappeared from the British imports—in 1813-14, it was imported to the value of 900,000 rupees, in 1827-28, it was little more than 100,000 rupees!

The improvident manner in which the free trade was carried on, will be further exemplified by a return of the total imports of merchandize into Calcutta at two intervals, as given in to the late parliamentary committee by Mr. Bracken.

TOTAL IMPORTS OF MERCHANDIZE INTO CALCUTTA.

Years.	Value.	Years.	Value.
1816	£5,840,000	1823	£8,800,000
1817	6,850,000	1824	4,040,000
1818	7,620,000	1825	3,600,000
1819	6,650,000	1826	3,400,000
1820	4,520,000	1827	4,150,000
Total	£30,480,000	Total	£19,070,000

First 5 years	£30,480,000
Second 5 years	19,070,000
Falling off	£21,410,000

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Did the wary Americans attempt to compete with this extravagant trade? By no means. Their trade with Calcutta will be best seen by a reference to the American tonnage at the port of Calcutta.

AMERICAN SHIPPING AT CALCUTTA.

In 1815	8,228 tons	In 1823	2,117 tons
1816	14,759	1824	2,209
1817	14,233	1825	5,541
1818	16,498	1826	1,983
1819	6,977	1827	2,788
Total	60,695 tons	Total	14,458 tons

First five years	60,695 tons
Last five years	14,458
Falling off	46,237 tons.

Mr. Wilson says that that the American imports into Calcutta in 1818-19 were 9,500,000 rupees, of which 9,000,000 were in *bullion!* In 1827 they were not much more than 2,100,000. Of late years the Americans have been purchasing English manufactures at Calcutta, for re-exportation, *far cheaper than they could buy them in England!*

The tonnage of ships under English colours arriving at Calcutta will shew how lavishly the trade was first carried on.

In 1816	117,648 tons	In 1825	83,163 tons
1817	133,923	1826	81,814
1818	122,234	1827	97,882
	373,805 tons		262,857 tons.*

First *three* years	377,805 tons
Last *three* years	262,859
Falling off	114,946 tons.

* The Burmese war assisted the latter period by many thousand tons, if not, the falling off would have been much more apparent.

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It has been so much the fashion of late to vilify the East India Company, that I suppose it is even difficult to get a hearing at all in their behalf: at one moment their enemies charge them with neglecting to attend to trade, because they are sovereigns, and at another moment they are blamed for trading at all, while some contend that they cannot prosecute any commerce whereever the free trader can come in competition with them. Reserving my reply to these statements to another period, I proceed to give the Company's exports to, and imports from Calcutta, with Great Britain alone, since the last renewal of their charter; the figures will amply demonstrate whether the charge of neglecting the interests of British commerce be well or ill founded; they prove, in fact, that the Company have left no means untried to advance the welfare of the English manufacturer.

E. I. Company's Exports from Great Britain to Calcutta

Years.	Rupees.	Years.	Rupees.	Years.	Rupees.
1813	3,669,646	1818	1,988,425	1823	1,606,674
1814	4,048,258	1819	2,844,876	1824	2,875,691
1815	4,324,221	1820	3,133,291	1825	3,228,125
1816	2,533,892	1821	2,618,109	1826	5,649,431
1817	2,874,736	1822	1,650,716	1827	3,600,200
Total	17,450,753	Total	12,235,417	Total	17,960,121

From the foregoing table it will be seen that during the middle period, when free trade ran mad, it would have been the height of insanity of the Company to have continued their exports to Calcutta; the latter period equals the first, and if the free trade can show a similar table, and with equal profit, it will be well for them; the table, however, is sufficient to prove that the Company have not relaxed in their efforts to promote the sale of the British manufactures, whenever they could do so with *real benefit* to the manufacturers. I will now examine the East India Company's imports *into London* from Calcutta; and here also it will be found that the exertions of the Company to advance British commerce have been very great, and indeed *increasing* every year.

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E. I. Company's Imports into London from Calcutta.

Years.	Rupees.	Years.	Rupees.	Years.	Rupees.
1813..	9,949,143	1818..	6,999,443	1823..	13,466,518
1814..	5,931,793	1819..	9,868,404	1824..	12,531,364
1815..	5,499,604	1820..	9,930,324	1825..	12,678,980
1816..	5,603,974	1821..	20,558,347	1826..	14,783,540
1817..	9,300,759	1822..	11,518,555	1827..	17,537,150
Total..	36,285,273	Total..	58,875,173	Total..	70,998,502

Imports the *first* five years......36,285,273 rupees.
Do....the *last* five years.......70,998,502

Increase!......34,713,229 rupees.

This will doubtless prove a very unacceptable table to Mr. Whitmore and Mr. Crawfurd; but truth, like murder, will come out, sooner or later.

The foregoing table indeed speaks volumes in favour of the Company, as Mr. Whitmore admits that the free trade has not increased more than 1,000,000*l.* sterling since its opening, and I have shown what a ruinous trade it has been. I trust, however, it will now become more steady; and as the Company are exporting to Bengal only for the supply of their troops, there is every hope that the Indian trade will prove, if not a very profitable one, at least a remunerating one; for heretofore, the only persons who could in reality make fortunes at Calcutta were the auctioneers. The failure of Messrs. Palmer and Co., although fatal to many hundreds of individuals, will be productive of benefit to the country at large; it broke up the monopoly which five or six agency houses maintained; and the commerce of Bengal is now divided among the junior establishments, of whom some are Liverpool firms, that promise to be of considerable benefit to Bengal as well as Great Britain.

Mr. Wilson gives the following table of the imports and exports of Bengal since 1813, and concludes with the following remark, in which every reasonable person, who knows any thing of the country, must concur.

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"That the trade has augmented during the period under examination is undeniable; but it has not increased in the degree which is sometimes supposed. Such observations as have been made are intended only *to moderate expectation*, and to recommend a cautious reception of the confident theories which contemplate no bounds to the wealth and capabilities of Bengal. British India is a *poor country*, and must remain so whilst *its population has a perpetual tendency to exceed the means of subsistence*, and whilst a large portion of its scanty capital is annually abstracted to enrich a foreign state, and swell the resources of Great Britain."

Imports to and Exports from Calcutta with all parts of the World.

Years.	Imports.	Exports.	Surplus.
1813-14	S. Rs. 21,200,000	S. Rs. 53,900,000	+32,700,000
1814-15	26,100,000	56,100,000	+30,000,000
1815-16	34,400,000	66,600,070	+32,200,000
1816-17	58,400,000	69,900,000	+11,500,000
1817-18	68,500,000	78,100,000	+09,600,000
1818-19	76,200,000	70,900,000	—05,300,000
1819-20	56,500,000	69,500,000	+13,000,000
1820-21	45,200,000	67,100,000	+21,900,000
1821-22	46,700,000	77,900,000	+31,200,000
1822-23	43,000,000	87,100,000	+44,100,000
1823-24	38,800,000	80,400,000	+41,600,000
1824 25	40,400,000	77,500,000	+37,100,000
1825-26	36,000,000	76,000,000	+40,000,000
1826-27	34,000,000	68,000,000	+34,000,000
1827-28	41,500,000	87,300,000	+45,800,000

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CHAPTER IV.

I think it has been sufficiently proved in the preceding chapters that nothing can be more erroneous than a comparison between the India and China trade; the former being British territory, with a population of 100,000,000 mouths, —where a standing army of 300,000 men is maintained,—extensive fortresses,—a large marine,—an expensive and numerous civil establishment,—an increasing British and British-descended population,—where English manufactures may be introduced at the will of the conquerors, to the complete annihilation of the native artisans,—and where, in fact, the same or even greater facilities for commerce are afforded by the East India Company (in respect to extreme lowness of duties,—the non-application of the Navigation Act,—a pilot establishment unequalled in any part of the world, &c.) than in any of the ports of the United Kingdom: The other a foreign country, inhabited, as Mr. Crawfurd says, by "*a jealous and unsocial people*," —who have "*a great antipathy to strangers*,"*—do not "*perceive the benefits of foreign commerce*†,"—whose government "*tolerates rather than protects it*,"‡—who rigidly "exclude foreigners from every port of the empire, except one,"§ Canton; where—

"*British intercourse is abandoned to the arbitrary controul of the local authorities of Canton, a venal and corrupt class of persons, who, having purchased their appointments, study only the means of amassing wealth by extortion and injustice*,‖ equally unrestrained by their own, and unopposed by the *governments* whose subjects they oppress, and who, for the attainment of this end, *impose severe burdens upon commerce*."¶

* Mr. Crawfurd.

† Ditto. ‡ Ditto. § Ditto.

‖ Petition of the British free merchants trading to and residing at Canton, presented to the House of Commons, by Sir Robert Peel in June last.

¶ Ditto.

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A nation "whose government is *arbitrary and corrupt,*"* whose "*merciless and indiscriminating laws,* as applied to foreigners, make no distinction between manslaughter and murder;"—"a government which *withholds from foreigners the protection of its laws,* and whose power is felt only *in a system of unceasing oppression,* pursued on the avowed principle of considering every other people as placed many degrees below its own in the scale of human beings,"†—who "restrict the entire foreign commerce of a vast empire to the single port of Canton, where the *exorbitant harbour dues operate as a virtual exclusion to the smaller class of shipping;*"‡—where

"The privilege of dealing with foreigners is confined to some ten or twelve licensed native merchants, and such is the oppressive conduct of the local authorities towards these individuals, by a systematic course of constantly recurring exactions and generally harsh treatment, that respectable and wealthy men cannot be prevailed on to accept the privilege, though earnestly urged by the Government to do so. for the purpose of supplying vacancies arising from deaths and bankruptcies. The Government being thus unable to maintain, in an efficient state, the limited medium of intercourse which they have established, and prohibiting foreigners from renting warehouses, in which to deposit their cargoes, there is no adequate competition nor any chance of obtaining the fair market value of a commodity; an evil the more deeply felt in consequence of nearly all the imports for the year necessarily arriving about the same time, *during the few months when the periodical winds are favourable in the China sea.* From the moment a foreign vessel arrives, her *business is liable to be delayed* by underlings of the Custom-house, on frivolous pretexts, for the sake of extorting unauthorised charges—the *duty on her import cargo is levied in an arbitrary manner by low unprincipled men,* WHO OPENLY DEMAND BRIBES,—it is, consequently, of uncertain amount, and, by the addition of local exactions exceeds, by many times, the rates prescribed by the Imperial Tariff, which appear to be, in general, moderate, although so little attended to in practice, that it is scarcely possible to name any fixed charge, except on a very few articles."(‖)

A government against which the petitioners pray for "the adoption of some measures which may tend *to ameliorate the humiliating condition of British subjects,* in common with other foreigners, resident in China;"§—a government "to which the petitioners cannot deny the credit of having hitherto *successfully triumphed over European power and dignity,*"—the "ruler of which most

* Mr. Crawfurd. † Ditto.

‡ Petition of the British free merchants before mentioned. It is worthy of remark that this petition was published in the *Canton Register* at Canton.

‖ Since the presentation of this petition the harbour dues have been raised, and *numerous oppressions increased.*

§ Letter of the unincorporated British free-merchants, to the President and Select Committee of the East India Company's factory at Canton, Dec. 28, 1830.

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ancient empire has seen the representatives of the monarchs of other countries *bear tribute to his throne,* and in many instances, *prostrate themselves in the dust before him!*"*—a country in which "*the petitioners fear no national extension of British commerce can take place,* or effectual amelioration of the humiliating condition of British subjets in China can be effected, unless by a direct intervention of his Britannic Majesty's government with the court of Pekin;"* and which,"

"If unattainable by the course suggested, the petitioners indulge a hope that the Government of Great Britain, with the sanction of the legislature, will adopt a resolution worthy of the nation, and, *by the acquisition of an insular possession near the coast of China,* place British commerce, in this remote quarter of the globe, beyond the reach of *future oppression and despotism.*"!!*

Such is the country which Mr. Whitmore, Mr. Rickards, Mr. Crawfurd, Mr. Buckingham, and others, who in common with them have never visited it, tell the people of England that it forms a direct parallel with the almost free port of Calcutta! That the British public may see whose sentiments the foregoing are, I append a list of the signatures annexed to the petition when it was presented to the House of Commons by Sir Robert Peel; they are the names of merchants who carry on a commerce with China equal in value to 3,000,000*l.* sterling, and who reside along with the East India Company's factory at Canton and Macao, the honourable testimony which they have borne respecting the Company I have given at page 65; and shall adduce some more of their manly laudation in a subsequent place.

†Thomas Beale,
Jas. H. Rodgers,
William Dallas,
J. R. Morrison, Jun.
William Haylett,
H. Wright,
Thomas Allport,
Arthur S. Keating,
Fs. Hollingworth,
Thomas C. Beale.
Alexander Matheson,
Henry S. Robinson,
D. Manson,
R. Browne,
George Horback,
Burjorjee Manukjee,
William Jardine,
James Matheson,
John Macvicar,
James Innes,
John C. Whiteman,
R. Turner,
C. Fearon,
A. P. Boyd,
John Templeton,
W. H. Harton,
J. W. H. Ibery,
J. Henry,
R. Markwick,
G. R. Johnson,
Nasserwanjee Framjee.
Burjorjee Framjee,
A. Grant,
John Crockett,
James Boucaut,
J. Rees,
Wm. Mc. Kay,
D. Wilson,
H. Tudor,
Ricd. A. J. Roe,
Edward Parry,
Chas. Marckwick,
L. Just, Jun.
Jehangier Cursetjee,
Framjee Pestonjee,
Sorabjee Cowasjee,
Mavanjee Hormajee.

* Petition before referred to.

† "The same merchants signed the remonstrance addressed to the

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I shall now rather hastily glance at the far-famed American trade with Canton, and which our trans-Atlantic brethren are so anxious to get rid of, that the witnesses before the House of Commons seemed to make it an essential point in their evidence, by urging on the committee the necessity of abolishing the East India Company! Why? Was it because the Americans desired to have "foemen worthy of their steel" in the free-traders? Because they despised entering into competition with "a monopoly"? Because, in their exceeding generosity with a rigorous national tariff at home, they desired to transfer the European carrying trade about which so much has been written and said, to their great maritime rivals? Or, was it *in sober truth*, because they clearly foresaw that a destruction of the East India Company would be most certainly followed, as Mr. Davidson says, by a rupture with the Chinese empire, and that in the protracted war which would necessarily follow the Yankees would find ample employment? Such was I have no doubt the real facts of the case, and as to the evidence of Mr. Bates, which I will hereafter expose, he evidently was merely looking to himself, to the advancement of his own immediate interests.

A cry for free-trade with the Chinese, comes however with a bad grace from the Americans when we look at their tariff; they desire it is true to be permitted to enter the ports of all other nations, but they will admit of no return; even the article of *Indigo*, which they have the freest permission to purchase abundantly at Calcutta—yet, as Mr. H. H. Wilson says, when speaking of the *declining trade* with America,—"The new tariff imposes *heavy and annually augmenting duties*, with a view to encourage the home manufacture, which is successfully prosecuted in some parts of the States; whenever the export of Indigo ceases, there will remain *little temptation to America to maintain any commercial intercourse with India.!*" And is it possible, that a British legislature—renowned for

local authorities at Canton, against the new restrictions on trade, given in the Appendix, in which they "protest against the adoption of rules which would make *life miserable and property insecure.*"!

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its prudent and cautious conduct,—will rashly and with an indescribable infatuation proceed to the destruction of the China trade on the evidence of two or three American captains of ships, who have casually visited China? It were a libel on the Senate to think so! But let us see what the *general result* of the American trade to Canton has been, as far as we can learn from a few documents which have been laid before Parliament; for the Bostonians were too cunning to exhibit the real state of their affairs, and Mr. Cushing who is stated to have amassed a large fortune in the trade, at the expense of many hundreds of his countrymen who have been made bankrupts; Mr. Cushing indeed took good care not to appear before Parliament!*

I shall first examine the American exports from British India.

AMERICAN EXPORTS FROM BENGAL, MADRAS, AND BOMBAY.

	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.
	S. Rs.	Arc. Rs.	Bom. Rs.
From 1815 to 1820	..28,849,787....	740,716....	3,034,169
From 1821 to 1826	..13,706,757....	1,080,843....	82,207
	Falling off. 15,143,030	Increase. 340,127	Falling off. 2,951,962

Here we see a falling off of *eighteen million of rupees*, and late accounts state, that the American trade with India is now nearly extinct. It cannot be said that this decrease has been owing to the English free-trader, for he is virtually excluded from the American ports, and has but little commerce with the Continent of Europe; in fact, it was in consequence of the general unprofitableness of the trade.

Let attention be directed to the enquiry, whether the American China trade has *increased* in proportion as their India trade *decreased*?

* The Commercial Report at Canton of 1828, states, "that not an article of British manufactures can be named which would realize *within ten per cent. of prime cost!*"

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American imports into China,

Years.	Merchandize.	Bullion.
1818, S. Dollars	2,603,151	S. Dollars....7,414,000
1819	1,861,961	6,297,000
1821*	3,074,741	5,125,000
1822	2,046,558	6,292,840
Total S. Dollars	9,586,411	S. Dollars..25,128.840
1823, S. Dollars	2,217,126	S. Dollars..4,096,000
1824	2,437,545	6,524,580
1825	2,050,831	5,705,200
1826	2,002,549	1,841,168
Total, S. Dollars	8,708,051	S. Dollars....18.166,868
Total *first* four years,	9,586,411	25,128,840
Ditto, *last* four years,	8,708.051	18,166,868
Falling off, S. Dollars	878.360	S. Dollars, 6,961,972

The foregoing is sadly at variance with the statements promulgated by the opponents of the East India Company, who endeavour to make the British public believe that the Americans were carrying all before them at Canton, yet it will be seen that in *one* year, from 1821 to 1822, the imports of merchandize fell off upwards of one million! The *total decrease* of the latter as compared with the former period is, S. dollars, 7,840,332!! This I suppose is what the advocates of free-trade call "throwing all the commerce into the hands of the Americans."†

I now solicit attention to the American exports from China during exactly the same years.

* For a good reason the returns of the year 1820, are carefully excluded from all the American returns I have seen!

† The Americans admitted in their evidence, that they "did not *fear* the free-traders at Canton:"—no wonder, indeed, that they have no fear!

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American exports from China.*

Years.	Exports.	Years.	Value of Exports.
1818, S. Dollars	9,041,755	1823, S. Dollars	5,677,149
1819	8,182,015	1824	8,501,121
1821	7,058,741	1825	8,752,562
1822	7,523,492	1826	4,363,788
Total S. Dollars	31,805,893	Total S. Dollars	27,294,620

Total *first* four years, ...S. Dollars	31,805,993
Total *last* four years	27,294,520
Falling off, ...S. Dollars	4,511,373

The total imports and exports for the first and last years mentioned in the foregoing returns, will place the matter in an equally clear point of view.

Total American Trade with China.

		Imports,		Exports.
In 1818-19	S. Dol.	10,017,151	S. Dol.	9,041,755
In 1826-27		3,843,717		4,363,788
Falling off!	S. Dol.	6,163,434	S. Dol.	5,677,967

Decreased trade	Imports, S. Dol.	6,163,434
	Exports	5,677,967
	Total *decrease* S. Dollars	11,841,401

Thus we see a diminution of the American trade with Canton between 1818 and 1826, to the amount of nearly *twelve million of Spanish dollars!*

The next point for consideration is,—have the Americans extended their trade with the continent of Europe from China? Have they in fact done that which it is said the East India Company's exclusive privileges have prevented the British unincorporated trader from doing? *They have not!*

* We are obliged to rely on the statements of the Americans, according to their own shewing; if the *real value* of their trade could be shewn, it would be far less inviting to the free-trader.

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Total value of American exports from Canton intended for European consumption.

Years.	Value.	
1818-19	S. Dol... 1,746,194	Total *first* 3 years, S. Dol...2,844,249.
1820-21*	*not given in the return*	
1821-29	714,145	
1822-23	383,910	
1823-24	453,906	
1824-25	584,677	Total *last* 3 years. S. Dol...1,413,998
1825-26	684,856	
1826-27	144,465	

The above scarcely admits of comment; a falling off between the first and last periods of three years each, of 1,430,251 S. dollars; and between 1818 and 1826, of S. dollars 1,601,729!!

A brief glance at the American eastern shipping.—

American vessels cleared out for ports beyond the Cape of Good Hope.

Years.	No. of Ships	Tonnage.
In 1824 and 1826	153	48,046
In 1827 and 1828	101	31,180
Falling off—Ships	52	16,866!!!

I will now grapple with the question somewhat closer; I hesitate not to place the American Canton trade, in juxtaposition with the East India Company's, and let it be remembered that the American China-trade has been a *losing one* to individuals, as well as to the government;—but on the contrary the East India Company's has been *highly beneficial to both.*

East India Company.

Total value of exports from Canton to England, for home consumption.

1819-20	1,907,389*l.* st.
1823-24	2,069,429
1826-27	2,264,726
Increase of the last year over the 1st year	257,377*l.* st.

American.

Total value of exports from Canton to America, for home consumption.

1819-20	S. Dol. 6,435,821
1823-24	5,223,243
1826-27	4,219,323
Decrease of the last year over the first year.	2,216,498

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Will any British House of Commons shut their eyes and ears to *facts?* A *progressive increase* in the East India Company's trade; a *rapid decrease* in the American, after nearly *half-a-century* free-trading with China!

I will now exhibit another return, from which is excluded on the East India Company's side, the *privilege trade* to Canton which is considerable, and it will be observed also that on the American side, the return gives their whole trade with Canton, whether for *home* or *foreign* consumption; but on the Company's, it merely refers to the trade with *England.*

EAST INDIA COMPANY. Total value of trade between Canton and England.		AMERICAN. Total value of trade between Canton and all parts of the word.	
1816 to 1820....	13,178,733*l.*	1816 to 1820, S. D.	46,842,802
1822 to 1826....	13,921,867	1822 to 1826......	45,572,721
Increase in the latter period	743,134*l.* st.	*Decrease* in the latter period	1,270,081

I will not weary my readers by referring to these conclusive figures,—they speak for themselves; on referring to the returns of the trade between India and Canton for the same periods, as given in the parliamentary returns, I find it to be as follows.—

Trade between India and Canton.

From 1816 to 1820.............	17,231,221*l.*
1822 to 1826.............	18,214,620
Increase of the latter over the former period..	973,399*l.* st.

Mr. H. H. Wilson in the able work which I have before referred to*, gives the following statement of the trade between *Bengal* and *China,* during the annexed years.

* Printed at Calcutta, but to be had of Messrs. Parburry and Allen, Leadenhall-street.

Exports from Bengal to China.

Years.	Value.	Years.	Value.
1814..S. Rups...	11,063,398	1821..S. Rups...	10,246,664
1815............	9,113,190	1822............	13,109,592
1816............	10,738,589	1823............	10,185,041
1817............	10,514,867	1824............	10,129,858
1818............	9,279,136	1825............	10,218,303
1819............	5,454,564	1826............	13,848,976
1820............	12,866,642	1827......	14,875,009
Total Rupees,	68,969,386	Total,	82,613,443

Of the foregoing exports, opium forms a large share, but of late years the opium from *Bombay* has considerably increased in exportation to China,—in 1826 and 1827, it amounted to 1,407,970 Spanish dollars! The European reader will recollect that the above table shews only the amount of exports to China from *one port in India;* and such is the valuable commerce, which Mr. Whitmore and Mr. Crawfurd instigate the nation to place in jeopardy, and most probably to annihilate!

The imports from China into Bengal will be found scarcely less remarkable for their immense amount; I am induced to give the table, in order to shew the representatives of England what a valuable commerce they may ruin by a single injudicious or unreflecting vote.

Imports into Bengal from China.

Years.	Value.	Years.	Value.
1814..S. Rupees..	6,917,170	1821..S. Rupees..	6,222,240
1815............	5,433,309	1822............	3,849,356
1816............	10,048,381	1823............	6,022,427
1817............	11,359,758	1824............	3,991,176
1818............	12,836,846	1825............	6,087,908
1819............	7,129,026	1826............	3,555,012
1820............	7,585,995	1827............	8,588,695
Total S. Rupees,	61,310,485	Total S. Rupees,	38,306,814

A large portion of this branch of trade is in bullion, for instance, during the last year of the table out of

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eight million and a half of imports, upwards of *six million* were in bullion, refined silver and dollars. The following table will shew the proportions of bullion and merchandize for a few years.

IMPORTS INTO BENGAL FROM CHINA.

Years.	Merchandize.	Treasure.	Total.
1822,	S. R. . 1,230,000	. . S. R. . . 2,619,000	. . S. R. . . 3,849,000
1823,	 1,584,000	 4,437,000	 6,021,000
1824,	 1,582,000	 2,409,000	 3,991,000
1825,	 1,933,000	 4,154,000	 6,087,000
1826,	 1,901,000	 1,653,000	 3,554,000
1287,	 2,170,000	 6,418,000	 8,588,000

I will dismiss for the present the Americans, by placing them once more in juxta-position with the East India Company, as respects the introduction of manufactures into China, those of the Americans are called British, and consist of camlets, bombazets, cloths, shirtings, &c.; the Company's were principally woollens and cottons: Before doing so, I wish to offer some testimony on a subject, about which much has been said, respecting the Company neglecting the interests of the woollen trade. I am induced to extract a few passages from the evidence of gentlemen connected with the business. Mr. Walford stated that "he has known the Company to have made *various experiments*, by purchasing articles, some at a higher, and some at a lower price, *with a view to push the manufactures of this country in China.*" "The Company strictly examine every article they purchase, by which they *establish a character for British manufactures; a bale of goods with their mark need not be opened.*"—(Mr. Walford, p. 657.) The Company direct their attention to *economy*, so long as they secure *superiority* of the articles they are shipping."—(Mr. Walford.) "I should think the American export of woollens to China *has not increased.*"—(Ditto.) Mr. W. Ireland, an extensive cloth manufacturer in Gloucestershire, was asked if the Company had increased, or decreased their orders of late? He answered —" when I first commenced business, in 1819, the Company shipped 7.000 pieces, which is 14,000 ends; they have *increased* their purchase of Spanish striped ends to

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24,000 ends! They first in the year 1824 increased to 10,000 pieces, and since that period to 12,000 pieces. There was also an *increase* of "supers"; at that period there were 2,000 pieces contracted for, now there are 3,000. Had it not been for the Company's trade last winter, some hundreds of our people must have starved. —The Company buy by *open competition*, are *just* in their dealings, and give *less trouble* than individuals." (p. 604).

East India Company's Exports to Canton.		American Exports to Canton.	
1824....	2,859,798 Sp. dolrs.	1824....	794,514 Sp. dolrs.
1825....	3,173,213	1825....	915,358
1826....	3,504,828	1826....	893,836
Total..	9,537,939 Sp. dolrs.	Total..	2,503,708 Sp. dolrs.

In the foregoing the East India Company's exports will be observed to be much more rapid in their increase than those of the Americans.

Mr. Whitmore asserted that the East India Company's export trade to China had been gradually decreasing; but if the previous numerous tables which I have adduced be not thought sufficient, I quote the following, from a parliamentary return.

East India Company's Exports from England to China.

In 1824, 1825, & 1826..	£2,065,044 sterling.
1827, 1828, & 1829..	2,209,339
Increase in the latter period over the former....................	£ 134,295 sterling.*

The following return of registered tonnage belonging to the East India Company, cleared out from the port of Canton, at two periods since the last renewal of their charter, will help to demonstrate whether their trade has decreased with China, and let it be borne in mind how the American Eastern tonnage has fallen off during the same period, as shewn in a former page.

* The exports have since increased much more.

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East India Company's Ships cleared out from Canton.

	Tons.		Tons.
From 1816 to 1819....	127,245....	Annual average..	25,245
1823 to 1827....	148,717....	Do....... do....	29,743
Increase in the latter period over the former	21,472 tons.		

In 1828 the East India Company's tonnage amounted to 41,388 tons! A most convincing proof of a ruinous and declining trade.

The following table will more accurately shew whether the allegations of the Company's shipping having decreased since the last renewal of their charter, be correct:—

Ships belonging to, or chartered by the East India Company.

Years.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Years.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.
1815..	26..	29,177..	2,603	1823..	24..	26,484..	2,699
1816..	26..	26,063..	2,894	1824..	25..	27,580..	2,819
1817..	22..	22,326..	2,305	1825..	32..	33,205..	3,188
1818..	32..	29,245..	3,048	1826..	26..	28,985..	2,675
1819..	35..	27,409..	2,546	1827..	35..	37,699..	3,708
1820..	22..	23,473..	2,425	1828..	39..	41,388..	3,929
Total.	173..	157,693..	16,021	*Total*.	181..	195,341.	19,018

	Tons.	Men.
First period....	157,693....	16,021
Last period.....	195,341....	19,018
Increase of the latter over the former period.............	37,648 tons.	2,999 men.

I had intended to have said very few words on this subject, until I saw this passage of Mr. Crawfurd's, in the 290th page of the Edinburgh Review, before referred to.

"Their whole conduct as merchants is a tissue of the most unmeasured extravagance. They *were* long in the habit of paying 26*l.* 10*s.* for freight for such ships as they chartered, while private merchants were paying not more than 8*l.* or 10*l.* per ton, and although the Company have

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latterly reduced their freights, they are still about *one hundred per cent*. higher than the current rates."

How stands the fact? By the 39th Geo. III. c. 89, and the 58th Geo. III. c. 83, the Company were obliged to prepare their ships for *war* as well as trade; and even now in peace time they have a political service to perform, in the *conveyance of troops* and military stores, for which they are so well adapted, that complaints have been made at the Horse-guards when his Majesty's troops have been sent out to India in small vessels, instead of in the Company's large ships.

Every person who knows any thing of shipping, is aware that freight is now, and has been for the last few years so low, that many ship-owners prefer keeping their ships in dock to employing them. Capt. Pope, a ship-owner (and an economical man), who had been in China, was examined before the late select committee, and stated that he could then, in 1830, "provide a ship to go *direct* to Canton for 15*l*. per ton, and for *two pounds* more he could pay the port dues." Here then we find that in *time of peace*, a vessel only *one half* the size of one of the Company's ships, not subject to be sent to St. Helena, or Bombay, or detained any where, but to go *direct* to Canton, would cost 15*l*. *a ton;* but, says Mr. Crawfurd, the Company might have obtained it at 8*l*. or 10*l*. a ton; whether the political economist or the ship-owner spoke truth, it is not difficult to conjecture. In a paper delivered in by Captain Maxfield to the select committee, I find a list of freights which the Company have paid in 1826, since which, as the Committee observe, "a very great change has occurred in the East India Company's commercial marine," on account of their being relieved from the onerous expense entailed on them by act of parliament.

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Vessels Chartered by the East India Company in 1826, for the China Trade.

Ships.	Tons.	Freight.	When Chartered.
Herefordshire	1,200	£21 18 0	Jan. 1811
Vansittart	1,200	20 18 0	July, 1810
Bombay	1,242	20 19 0	Nov. 1813
Charles Grant	1,246	20 12 0	Do. do.
Lowther Castle	1,427	20 12 0	Do. do.
Abercrombie Robinson	1,331	21 0 0	July, 1823
Edinburgh	1,326	21 0 0	Do. do.
Lord Lowther	1,332	21 7 0	Do. do.
Marquis of Huntly	1,279	18 18 0	Sept. do.
Inglis	1,298	18 5 0	Aug. 1824
Atlas	1,267	18 5 0	Do. do.
Bridgewater	1,276	18 4 0	Do. do.
Warren Hastings (1)	1,276	15 7 0 *	Do. do.
Warren Hastings (2)	1,000	18 5 0	Sept. 1824
Rosa	955	19 14 0	July, 1823
Prince Regent	953	19 17 0	Do. do.
Asia	958	19 17 0	Do. do.
Marchioness of Ely	952	19 19 0	Do. do.
Princess Charlotte of Wales	978	19 2 0	Sept. do.
Marquis Wellington	961	19 4 0	Do. do.
Coldstream	733	12 5 0	March, 1825
Guildford	533	12 19 0	Do. do.
Albion	479	12 19 0	Do. do.
Childe Harold	463	12 19 0	Do. do.
Total number of tons	25,681	At an average of £18 10*s.* per ton.	

The foregoing exhibits a return of the great majority of the tonnage engaged by the E. I. Company for China from 1810 to 1825, before they were relieved of some of the onerous restrictions of the act of parliament. There were also taken up in the year 1826 19,462 tons of shipping, some for Bengal and China, and some for Halifax and China, the average freight for which was *ten pounds eleven shillings sterling!* One of the ships was named the *Java*, burthen 1,175 tons. and the freight paid for her was 6*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* per ton! Thus, it will be perceived, by adding the tonnage given in the foregoing table with the latter, that in January,

* This is Captain Pope's price for his 500 tons free trader!

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1826, the East India Company had chartered 45,143 tons of shipping, at the average freight of *fourteen pounds nine shillings per ton !*

There were some very superior of the largest class ships, which had been chartered during the war for six voyages, as the act of parliament compelled them to be, and they were engaged at a higher rate than any I have named; but it was as unjust as it was disingenuous of Mr. Crawfurd to make the allegation in the Edinburgh Review which I have quoted; even Captain Pope's offer about 15*l.* per ton in 1830 is perceived to be *higher* than the average of 45,143 tons at the termination of the year 1825, when so much speculation in foreign commerce was going on. The Company have been blamed for using large ships, and by no person more so than Mr. Crawfurd; yet in Milburn's Oriental Commerce, I find the following passage :—" Mr. Crawfurd states that the amount of duties under the denomination of port charges, Cumshaw, or present, &c. is at present only about 27*s*. per ton on a vessel of 1200 tons, and about 50*s*. 6*d*. on a vessel of 400 tons !" This is a diminution of nearly 1000*l*. sterling, which, independent of several other items, would make an annual saving of about 30,000*l*. sterling ! Captain Alsager, in his evidence before the late Parliamentary Committee, states that " the port dues at Canton on a *large* ship come to about *twenty shillings* a ton; on ships of 500 tons burthen to *forty shillings* a ton !" Besides, there is more spaciousness in the hold; they can be loaded quicker (which is a great advantage in China, where trade is only carried on for a short season in the year), there is less breakage, and the teas are better preserved. Captain Alsager stated in his evidence that it would take " four 500-ton ships to bring home *one cargo* such as is brought in *one* 1300-ton ship; consequently, if *twenty* ships be the regular number of the season, it would take *eighty to bring home the same quantity of tea!*" In war time (and who knows how long we may be at peace) a good Indiaman will mount 44 guns, carry her valuable cargo, and be fit to cope with an enemy's frigate. For carrying troops large ships are convenient; the depth between decks being considerable, as well as their lofti-

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ness in the water, render them admirably adapted for such purposes. Their speed and regularity in making passages is really extraordinary. As one instance, I may state that in the season of 1829 two of the East India Company's ships sailed from the Downs for Bengal within *two hours of each other*, and in eighty-six days they both made the Pilot at the Sand Heads, Calcutta, *within four hours of each other*, without *ever having seen each other during a voyage of upwards of* 15,000 *miles !** Captain Alsager was asked by the Committee how did they answer as ships of war when they have been employed in India as such? His answer was—"Remarkably well; they have several times distinguished themselves: when Captain Bulteel went out in the *Belliqueux* to India, he fell in with three French frigates on the Brazil coast:—one he attacked; he send two Indiamen after the *Medea*, which frigate struck to the *Exeter* Indiaman; the third frigate was attacked by the *Warley*, and escaped by throwing her guns overboard, and cutting some of her beams through." This is a circumstance which should be borne in mind, not only in war time, but with regard to the formidable pirates that infest the Eastern seas; and it should be remembered, that from the length of the Chinese voyage, and the necessity there is of reaching Canton at a precise period, that although peace may have prevailed in Europe at their departure, yet, before their return, war might have been declared (of which there is now a probability), and while small vessels would fall a ready prey to the light cruisers of an enemy, each Indiaman would be able to protect itself, even if they did not sail in a large convoy, and thus prove sufficient to beat an admiral's squadron with an 84-gun ship, as was the case by Sir Nathanial Dance, a captain of one of the East India Company's ships. Moreover, if war were now declared against any European state, would it not be a great advantage to have 15 or 20,000 tons of such fine shipping ready instantly to form into frigates?—in this way the East India Company have before assisted the government. Such is the superiority of the Company's

* The average daily rate of sailing was about 180 miles a day!

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ships, that Mr. John Simpson, twenty-four years a ship-broker, stated, in his evidence before Parliament on the late Committee, that "the East India Company's ships to China are held to be one of the best risks that the underwriters have an opportunity of insuring."* Since the year 1806, about *five hundred* of these superb vessels, of *one thousand two hundred tons* burthen on an average, have been employed in bringing home tea, only *one* of which (the *Ganges*) has been lost :—she foundered in a dreadful gale of wind off the Capé of Good Hope, in 1806—was not built with scantling equal to her size, and had been hastily repaired at Bombay after springing a leak. Captain Alsager rates "the freight of a *small* ship to China at 16*l.* per ton; but the tenders for the Chinese shipping are *by open competition*, and the *lowest tender is always taken.*" I trust the foregoing will be deemed sufficient to repel Mr. Crawfurd's mistatement in the Edinburgh Review; I shall therefore close this chapter with rebutting another shameful assertion of the same gentleman's, in his pamphlet entitled "*The Chinese Monopoly Examined,*" in which he observes, that the advocates of the East India Company wish "*to persuade the Britith nation that it is good for them that each* of four and twenty *private* gentlemen *frequenting* Leadenhall Street should enjoy a yearly patronage of some 25,000*l.*" Now in the first place, the Court of Directors are not "*four and twenty private gentlemen;*" they are men who have spent the greater portion of their lives in the Eastern hemisphere in performing the civil, military, or commercial functions of an immense empire, whose affairs in this country they are selected to administer. Within little more than half a century, myriads of people, differing in language, religion, customs, and clime, have, by the mysterious decrees of Providence, been subjected to the sway of this extraordinary mercantile association, and it is indeed a theme of admiration how in so brief a period in-

* The Select Committee of the House of Commons observe that "the losses sustained by the Company at sea since 1814 do not average *three fourths* per cent!" And that "through the gradual reduction of their freight, the charge for black tea will not exceed 2.57*d.*, and for green tea, 3.21*d.*"

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ternal peace has been obtained for 120,000,000 of people, heretofore afflicted with constant wars and devastating incursions, but the great majority of whom have now been brought under one general administration, the efficacy and benignness of which will be best appreciated by looking at the tyranny and misery which pervades Ceylon and other settlements under the government of the crown, or by reflecting on the miserable state of Ireland, after 700 years' jurisdiction by the King's Ministers,—and not situated, as India is, at the most distant extremity of the globe. Whether the sneer, "*private* gentlemen, *frequenting* Leadenhall Street," was applicable to men engaged in the arduous duty of such a government, may be partly understood by any man of common sense; and as regards their enormous China patronage, I find, on referring to a parliamentary return, dated the 1st of April, 1829, that the following conclusive refutation is given to Mr. Crawfurd's accusation, and of which I may well say—

"*Ex uno disce omnes!*"

NUMBER OF WRITERS SENT OUT TO CHINA IN THREE YEARS.

In 1826-27	*None!*
In 1827-28	ONE.
In 1828-29	*None!*

Mr. Crawfurd values a writership to China as being worth 10,000*l.*; allowing, for argument sake, this to be correct, the value of China patronage to each Director would be less than 150*l.* on the average of the three years! Will the future Committees of the House of Commons on East India Affairs again receive Mr. Crawfurd's testimony after such charges, and which, indeed, form but a part of those which, if time and leisure permitted me, I could expose? Indeed, I trust not; for, above all things, it is absolutely necessary, according to an old English maxim, that "*a witness should come into court with clean hands.*"

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CHAPTER V.

An exposure and refutation of the monstrous, and indeed I may justly call it infamous accusation against the East India Company, of charging the British public 1,832,356*l.* or 2,000,000*l.* or "thereabouts,"* more fortheir tea than it could be imported by the free trader, is too important to be discussed at the end of a work like the present, which has been hastily written in a few days, and amidst a variety of distracting events. I pledge myself, however, to prove most amply, by official and authentic documents, that the public are supplied by the Company with tea on the average of a better quality than that used any where else; and all things considered, cheaper (much cheaper) than in some countries, and *as cheap* as in others. The absurdity of drawing conclusions from the prices of tea on the continent will be apparent from a table in the Appendix B. in which it will be seen that Bohea, which cannot be purchased in China at less than *eight-pence half-penny,* may be obtained at Antwerp for 7¾*d.*; in France for 6½*d.*; and at Hamburg for 5*d.*! Congou, of which the Canton price is from 11*d.* to 1*s.* per lb., may be bought in France at 10½*d.*, and at Hamburg from 8¼*d.* to 10¼*d.*! Canton price for Hyson, 1*s.* 9¾*d.*; French price, 1*s.* 8½*d.* Young Hyson costs in Canton about 1*s.* 8½*d.* per lb., and *only one half that sum at Hamburg!!* The Chinese cannot afford to sell Twankay at less than 11*d.* per lb.; but the American speculators enable the good people of Hamburg to drink it at *seven-pence farthing!!*† One more specimen, and further exhibition of this mockery of free trade will be reserved for the *second portion* of this work. Souchong, a good quality tea, sells at Hamburg for *five-pence* per lb., which is the *same price* as the vilest Bohea costs in the Hamburgh market, and is only *one-half the price of Bohea* in Canton! Will any sane being think of condemning the

* Mr. Crawfurd's pamphlet.

† The price of tea in Russia is exceedingly high. Bohea, for instance, 8*s.* 9*d.* per lb.

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East India Company on the foregoing facts?† Yet it is by the *Hamburgh prices* that Mr. Crawfurd, in the *Edinburgh Review* (p. 283), asserts that "the East India Company sold their teas in 1828-29 for the immense sum of 1,832,356*l.* ***more than they would have fetched had the trade been free!*** The manner in which the price of tea is enhanced to the public, will be best seen by the following accurate statement. I take a pound of Congou for instance, according to the evidence of Mr. Mills, a tea a broker, before the House of Lords.

One pound of good Congou, ***put up*** at the East India Company's sales at	1 8	
Buyers purposely and for their own advantage raise it................................	9	
Purchasing price by the Brokers		2 5
Duty levied by the Crown...........................		2 5
Retailer's profit, brokerage, &c.		2 2
Shop price		7*s.* ,,

Thus it will be seen, the tea that the Company offer for sale to the consumer at 1*s.* 8*d.*, or at the utmost say 2*s.*, is enhanced to 7*s.* before it finds its way to the drinker's breakfast table, and yet the Company are absurdly blamed for the high price! The absolute dishonesty of the Edinburgh Reviewer will be seen, by simply stating that in forming a table wherewith to charge the Company for levying a tax on the English consumer of tea of nearly 2,000,000*l.*, he has most disingenuously omitted to state that the Hamburg *prices* of tea submitted by the House of Lords to Dr. Kelly the Cambist, are exceedingly various; in Souchong varying from 8*d.* to 1*s.* 8*d.*; and in

* The low price of tea in America may be accounted for by the following facts in evidence before Parliament.

"Black tea purchased by the Company is *better* than that bought by the Americans."—Capt. Coffin, an American.

"Americans sometimes purchase from the Hong merchants teas with the Company's mark."—Do.

"Difference in the price of tea in England and in America is not solely attributable to the East India Company's monopoly!"—Mr. Bates, an American.

"The souchong sold in America at 12*d.* per lb. is *inferior* to the Company's tea, and the low price in America may be partly accounted for by the extensive failures of tea merchants in the United States, when *teas were sold at a very great loss*!!"—Mr. Bates.

[Yet it is by comparison with prices thus obtained, that the Company are charged with taxing the people of England to the amount of 1,000,000*l.* or 2,000,000*l.* annually.]

"A difference of 5 to 10 per cent. in favour of teas purchased by the Company over the American trade."—Capt. Coffin.

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Pekoe from 3*s*. to 6*s*.! At Rotterdam, Kampoi from 1*s*. 5*d*. to 2*s*. 11*d*., and Souchong from 1*s*. 7*d*. to 4*s*. and 2*d*.!! No wonder that Mr. Layton, an old, experienced, and extensive tea broker, stated in his examination before the committee, that "the *short price* of tea is lower in Holland than here;" and the reason assigned by this gentleman is, that "*they can find no sale for a great deal they have in Holland!*" Indeed on some of the sample tea to which the London brokers were asked to affix a value, they have made this significant mark—"NO PRICE; UNFIT FOR USE!." and yet *with this very sample of tea*, on which the brokers could not affix *any price*, Mr. Crawfurd helps himself in his calumnies against the Company!!! Is it to be wondered at that 2,000,000*l*. extra was difficult to make out after such a specimen of downright deception?

It is difficult, indeed almost impossible for a writer, when he sees such flagrant perversions of truth to refrain from exposing them; I must therefore say a few words more on this head.

Mr. Layton on his examination was asked, was he acquainted with the foreign trade in tea? He replied that "he was much on the continent; had looked at the foreign tea trade; and was *very much surprised how little they understood of the matter!*" That respecting the foreign samples he, in common with the other brokers, had examined by order of the committee; he was of opinion that "*some of those samples were picked qualities of tea;*" that in some instances the *difference in price* was commensurate with the *deterioration of quality;*" that the "fine Pekoes and others were over land teas;" that he was in Holland, Antwerp, and round about, and their teas were *decidedly inferior to ours;*" that at Paris and places where Englishmen go, "*there is a demand for better tea;*" that "the Congou's and Hyson teas imported by the East India Company are reckoned *far superior to those inported by the private trade officers*,* and fetch a *larger price*. We sometimes give 5*s*. 6*d*. to 6*s*. per lb. for Company's tea, while it is a rare thing for the *private trade teas* to make more than 3*s*. 10*d*. to 4*s*.!" The broker was asked some questions on a point which I have touched on in the beginning of these pages; namely, the probability of extending the consump-

* The commander and officers of a company's ship are allowed altogether about *one hundred tons freight* in one of their ships, to bring home tea, silks, or china goods, and to convey to China British manufactures; the latter they seldom find profitable, and the tea not much more so.

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tion of tea in this country, a circumstance on which the renewal or non-renewal of the Company's exclusive China privileges must materially depend; for I have, I presume, fully exposed the falsity of the many allegations against the present system, and shall do so more fully in my next publication. Mr. Layton was asked, "if the Company were to import some *teas of lower quality* than they at present import, they would be *suitable* for the *consumption of the poorer classes of people?*" He thought it would be *great impolicy* of them to do so,—that they would *hurt the trade at large*,"—that the low bohea tea is now *sufficiently low* for consumption,"—that "if the Company imported lower priced teas, the people would *find fault with the very article they were in the habit of consuming* because it was *at a much lower price!*" that "when the duty on tea was lowered very considerably, the public were so *displeased with the quality of tea*, though they had the *self-same tea* they would have had before, that the Company took it all back at the same cost; *the people would not drink the tea*, they said it *was bad*, and some were even fools enough to go to houses I could mention, where they might have had good hyson tea which stood them in 5*s*. per lb., and pay *twelve* shillings, and *fourteen* shillings, and *sixteen* shillings per pound, because they said *it could not be good if offered at low prices;** and to this very day, the best consumers of tea in this country, for the *good of the tea-dealers* (of whom there are from 60 to 70,000 in England!) are *the servants* at your own houses, for they drink *black tea* at *six and eight shillings a pound*, when you (the Members of Parliament) may drink it at a shilling *or two shillings a poand less*"!! Mr. Layton says he has seen "tea on the Continent of *a strange sort of mixture*, it was bought of what are called the *outside* dealers in China;"—he thinks "there is *very little smuggled tea in the trade now;* it is only the *fine gunpowder tea* they can *make answer*, but by the time they have hawked it about the country, it is very much the worse for it;" that "when the Company put a larger stock of tea than the buyers wish, complaint is made," and they state "THEY ARE OVERSTOCKED WITH TEA,"—as they are *interested in the price not falling!*" All men who coolly and rationally reflect on

* How applicable these remarks are to all articles of luxury, *not necessaries of life*, and dependent for their consumption on an artificial taste, created by fashion and maintained in use solely by custom?

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the extraordinary consumption in Great Britain of nearly 30,000,000lbs. weight of the leaves of a tree growing in China, will agree with this experienced broker when he states that "IF THE TRADE WERE THROWN OPEN, HE THINKS THE TEA WOULD BE TAKEN ABOUT THE STREETS IN BARROWS, *and that then people would not take it at all*"! But the subject grows on me apace. I will therefore conclude for the present with the following corroborative extract from the recent Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons appointed to inquire into the China trade:—

"The quantity of tea sold by the Company has *greatly increased* since 1814.* The average of three years from—

1814-15 to 1816-17 was ....lbs. 25,028,243
And the average of the three years 1826-27 to 1828-29
was ....lbs. 28,017,238

The average sale proceeds of the *larger quantity* amounted in the last three years to *no more than* £3,376,773
While that of the *smaller* quantity in the first three years of the present charter was £4,003,838

It has been stated that the principle to which the Company look in determining what quantity to offer for sale is the amount of deliveries and the quantities sold at the previous sale. The *supply* is said to hove MORE THAN KEPT PACE WITH THE DEMAND; CONSIDERABLE QUANTITIES OF TEA OFFERED HAVE OCCASIONALLY BEEN WITHDRAWN *in consequence of no advance having been offered on the upset price;* when the Company augmented their supply on a complaint of the Scotch dealers some years since, the *same dealers complained of the increase* (! owing to their interest being affected by a *reduction of the value* of their stock in hand, the amount of which is however VERY SMALL"!

The Committee admit, in reference to the assertion that the price of tea to the consumer in Great Britain is higher than that at which it is sold on the continent of Europe and America, that "*A mere comparison of prices affords no just criterion, there being various kinds classed under the same denomination;*"—that "the Netherlands China Association, in its returns of tea, has experienced a *loss of* 25 *per cent. on the capital employed,*"*—that the "principal exports of the Americans to China for the purchase of tea are in dollars, and even since they began to take British manufactures to Canton, *dollars*

* What a direct contradiction to the falsehoods contained in a letter in the *Times* Journal a few days ago signed *Sineonensis;* if it had been *Sinon,* the name would have been more appropriate.—February 10th, 1832.

Mr. Masterson, the British Vice-consul at Rotterdam stated before the Committee, that "the Dutch, as well as the merchants of other nations, have latterly given up the hope of *importing teas to any profit* upon the cost price!"

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have formed two-thirds of the total exports,"—that "the Company used formerly to *purchase their tea with bullion* (as the Americans do), but that they now provide their funds at Canton by sales there of the *produce and manufactures of Great Britain* exported by them from hence, and by sales of the produce of India taken from thence to China,"—that "the late reductions in the home price of British manufactures will it is expected have enabled the Company to realize a profit upon their exports during the last two years,"—that "the Company have the pre-emption of most of the black teas,"—that "owing to the extent of the Company's purchases, to their system of control, and to their *great regularity*, they buy their teas, particularly the black, at *comparative advantages*,"—that "the Company's tea put up to sale *must* by 25 Geo. III. c. 38, be *sold to the best bidder*, provided there be an advance of *one penny* per lb.; and that the Company offer to sell it if the advance be *no more than one farthing per lb.!*"—that "in cases where no advance is offered, the tea is put up at the next sale without *any price* being affixed to it, and *sold for what it will fetch!*"—that "the rise in the price of tea during the period of high prices was not so great as in that of some other commodities,"—and that "the trade in tea has *by the Company's system* BEEN KEPT MORE STEADY THAN OTHER COMMERCIAL UNDERTAKINGS,"—that "the American tea-trade (like the Dutch) has become *a losing one*,"—that "the officers of the Company's ships, although having *no freight to pay*, that they have *not increased their exports to China*,"—and that "the *opening of the trade* between Great Britain and China *would not*, it is thought, cause *any alteration in the policy of the Chinese Government towards foreigners*, unless the revenue should fall off from an increase of smuggling by free-traders,—or unless there should be, from *private disputes*, *frequent collisions* between the Europeans and Chinese; in *either of these contingencies*, apprehensions are entertained that the trade might be *entirely interdicted*"!

I will only add two more quotations from this highly important document; the first shews the complete absurdity of drawing a parallel between India and China, or arguing that because there has been an increase of exports to India since the peace, that *therefore* the same would occur if the China trade were thrown open.

"The extended use of British manufactures in India has been promoted by *fiscal regulations*, which the British Government had the

power *there* to make, but which *it could not effect in China*:—It is further stated that a formidable obstacle to the growth of a *profitable* export trade from Great Britain to China arises from the obligation under which India is placed of annually effecting a *large remittance to England*, and which remittance is now *advantageously made* by the Company through the medium of China produce."

The nation would scarcely refuse to enjoy the remittance from India of several million sterling annually for the precarious chance of the China trade I close this branch of my subject with the following extract from the Parliamentary committee's report, which I trust will put the legislature and the country at large on their guard against receiving the *ipse dixit* of Messrs. Crawfurd, Rickards,* and Buckingham, "the inhabitants of the British islands having to pay in the shape of a *monopoly tax on tea some* TWO MILLION STERLING *per annum, or thereabouts*."†

"Several statements have been submitted in evidence with a view of showing that the Company's exclusive right to supply tea entails a very heavy tax upon the public amounting in the view of one witness to £1,500,000; of another to £1,727,984, and of a third to £1,294,249 sterling, (Mr. Crawfurd takes a higher flight of £2,000,000 or "thereabouts.) But *those statements* have been objected to and *controverted* upon the grounds that they have reference to *a trade conducted differently* from that which the legislature has prescribed to the Company;—that the *calculations* are in some respects *arithmetically wrong*;—that they are *fallacious*, inasmuch as they assume the rate of exchange in *one year* and the prices paid to the Company in *another*; and that in some of them *the prices of tea in China* are stated LOWER THAN THEY COULD BE PURCHASED FOR THERE, WITHOUT RISKING DETERIORATION OF QUALITY." ! ! !

An examination of the evidence of Mr. Rickards and Mr. Bates must stand over, but I cannot help adverting to the contradictory testimony of the two gentlemen, which is so well reconciled by Mr. Crawfurd, that in one page of the review, he joins Mr. Bates and a Mr. Aken in maintaining that the Company receive, according to Mr. Bates, "one million and a half per annum (Mr. Crawfurd is fond of calling it 2,000,000*l*. or "*thereabouts*") beyond a fair mercantile profit; and according to Mr. Aken, "*one hundred per cent. clear profit* after deducting the profit:" and at page 320 this sapient reviewer asserts, that "*it is exceedingly doubtful* whether the East India Company *gain anything* by their monopoly after paying the dividend of 630,000*l*.—Nay, more, in the very same page

* Mr. Rickards says the excess paid by the country is 4,091,107*l*.: *what wide calculations!*

† Mr. Crawfurd's pamphlet, entitled, "Chinese Monopoly Examined," page 7. Ridgeway, Piccadilly.

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a few lines lower down, he "has very little doubt that Mr. Rickard's view of the matter will turn out *to be correct*," that view being that the China trade "*has uniformly been attended with a heavy loss*, and that had it not been for the aid derived from the revenues of India, the Company would have long since been completely bankrupt."!* Again, forgetting entirely that at page 320 he had admitted the produce of the China trade paid the Company dividends of 630,000*l*., yet in the very next page he asserts, that the privileges possessed by the Company produce to them "*nothing !*"† Such is the intellect of the great enlightener of the nation on Indian politics and Eastern commerce !

At page 316 there is a stupid repetition of the vulgar joke about "grocers and cheesemongers,"‡ and there is a grandiloquent, "WE protest against their being allowed to carry a *sword* in one hand and a *ledger* in the other, to act at once as sovereigns and tea dealers,—as *sovereigns* and *hucksters*."

Now in the first place, the East India Company (as Lord Ellenborough lately observed in the House of Lords, in a most able speech on this important topic) appear at Canton as peaceful traders, by which means they have secured and increased their trade, the arming of their ships being a legislative enactment ;— that their functions as sovereigns and merchants are considered distinct by Government, is evident from the circumstance of the President of the Board of Control having little or nothing to do with the China trade. Besides, of what materials is the British Parliament composed ? Of soldiers and sailors ; of civic dignitaries and city lawyers ; of country farmers and London shopkeepers ; and of all these in a greater proportion than any other classes in society. Is not His Majesty's Cabinet and Privy Concil of similar formation ? And do they not sway the military, nautical, commercial, and political destinies of the nation ? Then if we look at the constitution of the Home Indian Government we find the very same ingredients in its composition, having superadded long practical experience, well known abilities, and unswerving rectitude of principle. But

* Mr. Crawfurd's *own* words, and his *own* italics in the *Edinburgh Review* for July, 1831, page 320.

† There are many other most absurd assertions and contradictions, which it would be quite wearisome to expose.

‡ When Mr. Crawfurd was in the East India Company's service he did not hesitate to receive many thousand pounds from the "grocers and cheesemongers."

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Mr. Crawfurd tells them with a sneer, "they must make their election; let them choose whether they will be grocers or emperors"—A fine specimen of the flippant wisdom of the age of intellect! What were the merchants of Venice, of Genoa, of the United Provinces? Have not Englishmen substantial reason to be proud of the designation of the noble Bard who termed them after the manner of Napoleon—

> "*The haughty shopkeepers, who dole*
> *Their* GOODS *and* EDICTS *out from pole to pole!*"

The opinion of the present enlightened President of the Board of Control on this head is worth hearing; the following are the sound sentiments of the Right Honourable Charles Grant, whose high range of talent has never been questioned.

"It has been repeatedly urged that there is something monstrous in the *union* of the *political* and *commercial* functions,—this charge rests upon the authority of a great master in political learning. But it is a little curious to observe how this charge has shifted its grounds since it was first made. Doctor Smith objects to the union, because the *political part of the character must suffer*. The interests of the Company as merchants will supersede their duty as sovereigns. His disciples, however, take *precisely the reverse*. The merit of the Company as sovereigns they admit, and indeed *it is too obvious to be denied;* but, driven from that post, they now discover that it is the mercantile character which must be injured by the imperial; these *public-spirited traders*, it seems, and it is a grievous accusation, sacrifice their interests as merchants to their duty as sovereigns! But after all, this charge consists *very much in assumption*, and perhaps the best answer to it would be, an appeal to the practical result of this anomalous union. It is, indeed, somewhat singular, that an argument of this kind, proceeding upon theory in opposition to experiment, should find acceptance in a quarter where it has been lately repeated. It is singular that it should be sanctioned by those, whose claims to the regard of their country, and to the approbation of posterity, must mainly rest on this circumstance, that *at a period of frantic speculation*, they adhered to the plain, practical excellence of the constitution, in spite of the defects with which it might in theory abound. This argument, however, or rather this assumption, is objectionable in another point of view, as it narrows the range of political science. It pronounces the *junction of the sovereign and mercantile capacities to be ruinous* Now, the only instance upon record of such a junction is that which is furnished by the East India Company. It seems, therefore, *a little like begging the question*, to begin with laying down a theory, and then to reason from this theory and pronounce *à priori* upon the only fact to which it can be referred. Such a mixture of functions must upon theory be bad; the system of the East India Company is an example of such a mixture; therefore it is a pernicious system! This is surely a premature conclusion—for this is the very point to be ascertained—political science depends upon an induction of facts. In no case, therefore, can it be allowed to close the series of experiments; and to declare definitively that for the future no practical results whatever shall affect an established doctrine. Least of all is this allowable, when the doctrine can

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by possibility refer only to a single fact; and *when that single fact is at war with that doctrine.*"

The Right Honourable the President of the Board of Control is supported in the foregoing sound political, as well as logical, remarks, by many of the most distinguished statesmen. Mr. Pitt for instance, when bringing in his India Bill in 1784 said, in reference to the union of the characters of sovereigns and traders as *peculiarly* combined by the East India Company, "this is a matter of *mere speculation*, which general experience proves *not to be true in practice*, however admitted in theory." Henry Ellis, Esq. a member of the present Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India, whose reputation as an Indian writer and diplomatist stands high in the annals of his country, supports this opinion, and thinks "it would be *most unwise* to deal hastily with a system by which such important benefits are secured to great Britain."*

I have so frequently expressed my own opinion on this momentous subject, and indeed with a tautology that I am fully aware of (for which I must plead my apology by the manner in which I have been enabled to collect and hurriedly arrange the facts I have adduced, viz. by devoting night after night to a theme which I cannot but consider of the deepest national importance, and which "grew upon me" as I proceeded), that I think I cannot better close this chapter and chequer the rather monotonous array of figures and quotations indispensible to a work of this nature, than by extracting the following highly eloquent and strikingly just analysis of the merits of the East India Company as *sovereigns* and as *merchants*, by the Right Honourable Robert Grant, in a work entitled, "On the Expediency maintained of continuing the System by which the Trade and Government of the East India Company are now regulated." To detract from, or add to, this splendid eulogium would be almost sacrilege:

"At a time when the trade with India was the subject of a race among the commercial states of Europe, and when *preoccupancy* was of the greatest moment, the East India Company *secured to their nation a share of that trade, most valuable in itself, and still more valuable as including the reversion of an empire.* Assailed by the malignant rivalry of foreign Europeans, with the weapons both of art and arms, sacrificed by their own monarchs to favouritism and foreign influence, and weighed down, in common with the rest of their countrymen, by the

* The same opinion is expressed by one of the ablest writers on Chinese affairs—Sir George Staunton.

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effects of the wars and revolutions that distracted England *during the seventeenth century, the Company yet preserved the national station in the Indian trade, by dint of extraordinary exertion, and at an immense expense.*

"The immediate fruits of this traffic to England, were not only the supplies of desirable commodities, useful or luxurious, for her markets, and *the encouragement of her manufactures,* but also, in a pre-eminent degree, the *improvement of her naval skill and architecture,* (for the India Company were the first British merchants who employed ships of great burden) *and the promotion of her commerce with foreign Europe,* by the re-exportation of the continent of the chief part of the commodities brought from India. At the same time, *the Company made various and large contributions to the national revenue;* and, in their *commercial transactions* with the native powers of India, they *established a character for probity and integrity highly creditable to the English name. During the prosecution of this trade, they acquired numerous settlements in the East, which they regulated and governed well.* Those establishments, protected and fostered in their infancy, quickly shot forth branches in every direction, which, gradually spreading out and meeting each other, have at length over-canopied Hindostan. But their growth took place under heavy storms. The political rapacity of France, who avowedly sought in the East territorial aggrandisement for herself, and the utter debasement or extirpation of the Anglo-Indian name, forced on their rivals schemes of defensive ambition. From that period the Company had a new character to sustain, and they sustained it riumphantly. *Very moderately assisted by their own mother-country, from whom they derived little other advantage than the liberty of recruiting men at their own expense,* they struggled against the French Company, zealously seconded by the court of Versailles. *They hazarded their whole capital and credit; they expended an immense sum of blood and of treasure; and, after a contention of various fortune during twenty years, succeeded in planting a vast territorial dominion on the neck of the prostrated ambition of their enemies.*

"The East India Company have preserved, consolidated, and extended this dominion, till it at length includes within itself almost *all that the commercial or the ambitious spirit of Europe has ever grasped at in India;* covering at once the ruins of the French and Danish possessions, the insular and maritime empires of the Dutch and Portugese, and the continental empire of the Moguls; and rich, almost without example, in navigable rivers, accessible coasts, fertile plains, and a thronged and industrious population.

"In this empire they have established, by slow gradations, indeed, but good government is ever a work of gradation, and under the superintendence of the legislature, but not without

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eminent exertion on their own part,—a system of polity *so excellent as to compel the approbation even of their enemies; a system of great present benefit, and of extensive promise.* The numerous civil servants whom they employ in the local administration, constitute such a body of public functionaries, as, for *knowledge, industry, and integrity it would probably be, difficult to parallel on earth.* The vast and efficient armies which they have formed of their Asiatic subjects—the skill, the courage, and the discipline, to which the Sepoy soldiery has been trained—the exalted military accomplishments of the European officers—are subjects of general notoriety and admiration.

"The possession of the Indian empire is highly advantageous to the mother country. It opens to her patrican order a spacious and noble field of employment; a field in which every talent may be tried, and every generous species of ambition gratified. It, in the same proportion, relieves from the pressure of competition the various professional pursuits nearer home; thus, generally, raising the rate of profit on the capital stock of the national genius, wisdom, and enterprise. It more than reimburses, even in a pecuniary point of view, the outlay of expense on the persons delegated to the Indian service, *by the wealth which many of those persons bring back to their native land.* It furnishes to the mother country such opportunities and advantages of commerce as she would in vain expect from the same regions, if they were subject either to the despotism of Asiatic princes, or to the jealous sway of continental Europeans. It richly ministers to her reputation, which is her power. Amidst all the treasures of the greatness of England, perhaps none more strongly excites the envy of her European enemies than the gem of her Indian empire. The vast superficial extent and unascertained populousness of those dominions, the magnifying effect of their remoteness, the recollection of the heroism by which they have been won and worn, the consecrated memory of the eminent characters, the chiefs and sages, who have successively appeared on that romantic scene, and have vanished away—all these imposing considerations, mingled with confused but splendid images of naval strength and barbaric opulence, and crowded together in a picture whose distance reveals the faded forms of elder story, the shadows of forgotten autocrats and dynasties receding into fable—unite to constitute India one of the principal repositories of the glory of England in the eyes of foreigners, one of the mansions where her fame delights to dwell.

"*By the acquisition of empire the Company have not been induced to neglect the extension and promotion of the commerce, manufactures, ship-building, seamanship, and various other interests of this country. They have improved the intercourse of Great Britain with the jealous and capricious government of China into something like a solid commercial*

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connexion. The customs and duties levied on their trade form one of the staple resources of the public revenue. They have, at various periods, *accomodated the public with large sums of money*, either in the shape of loan, gift, or pecuniary sacrifice, as the price of a renewal of their privileges. They have *voluntarily afforded other aids to the public*, as by raising seamen, and equipping ships of war, for the national navy. *The munificent patronage which they have ever afforded to the cultivation of those branches of literature that are connected with the learning or antiquities of India* may be mentioned as another ground on which they are entitled to the favour of their more enlightened countrymen.* Nor is it to be forgotten that they have *repeatedly conquered the dominions possessed in India by the European enemies of this country;* which conquests have been restored by treaties of peace, for equivalents conferred on the nation, *without any indemnification to that body at whose expense they had been made.*

"What degree of commendation may be due to the Company on these grounds, it rests with the public to determine; but, at least, the mention of their services and achievements cannot be irrelevant at a period when so much has been said, and said with *less study of accuracy than of effect*, respecting their past misdeeds, and when many appear to decide on the important question concerning their merits *rather in obedience to prejudice and vague clamour, than from serious, deep, and impartial deliberation.*"

* On this subject I will merely mention one instance out of many. The East India Company expended 12,000*l*. in the publication of Dr. Morrison's Chinese Dictionary, and this very dictionary is at the present moment employed by the Japanese as a medium of translation into their own language, which has the same *characters* as the Chinese, though the colloquial part is different. Many similar munificent acts are on record. The sums of money laid out by the Company in surveying and exploring the Eastern seas has been very great, and the efforts of their servants for the cultivation of literature, improvement in agriculture, and diffusion of the useful and fine arts, have indeed been extraordinary.

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CHAPTER VI.

Present State of Affairs at Canton.

According to the principles of political economists, no people can be more decidedly anti-commercial, or act more at variance with the dictates of common sense, than the Chinese and their government; for they not only confine their European maritime trade to *one* port, but they also place it in the hands of a *few* individuals, while extortion, bribery, and caprice, form the leading characteristics of their mercantile policy; at least, such is the testimony of all the British free merchants residing in China, in their petition to the House of Commons in June last, and from which I have made extracts at pp. 64, 65, and 90. How are the statements in that petition to be reconciled with the evidence given to the late Select Committee; for if we believe the petitioner's complaints, a tribe of Esquimaux, or New Zealanders, could not possibly exhibit more barbarous rules of intercourse with friendly strangers, or stand more completely in the way of their own pecuniary interests: for instance, "*they* (the Chinese) *subject foreigners to treatment to which it would be difficult to find a parallel in any part of the world!*"—"they make no distinction between *manslaughter* and *murder*, as applied to *foreigners*,"—the "government *withholds* from foreigners the *protection* of its *laws*, and its power is felt only in a system of *unceasing oppression*, pursued on the avowed principle of considering every other people as placed many degrees below its own in the scale of human beings,"—"*bribes* are *openly demanded* by low unprincipled men, who possess an arbitrary power of levying the import duties on goods,"—"the government is arbitrary and corrupt,"—and the "local authorities at Canton a *venal and corrupt class of persons*, who *impose se-*

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vere burdens upon commerce," &c. Now how are these charges to be reconciled with the following eulogiums passed on the Chinese:—

" The Chinese are *eminently intelligent*, active, and commercial" *(Crawfurd)*. " A perfectly commercial people" *(Rickards)*. " Of very great commercial enterprize" *(Stewart)*. " Are much disposed to cultivate foreign trade" *(Brown)*. " Friendly to commercial intercourse" *(Milne)*. " Aware of the advantages of foreign trade" *(Coffin)*. " Are more eager to trade with foreigners than with any other people" *(Hutchisson)*. " Extremely desirous to carry on trade with Europeans *(Davidson)*. " Very fond of foreign trade" *(Bates and Deans)*. " Their commercial propensities are stronger than those of any other people" *(Maxwell)*. " Inclined to buy any thing at all useful of any description" *(Mackie)*. It is difficult I say to reconcile the latter testimony with that of the British unincorporated merchants residing at Canton. The truth is, Mr. Rickards, Mr. Crawfurd, and their coadjutors, in their eagerness to make out a case, overstepped the mark,—little considering that at the moment they were giving such flattering descriptions of the Chinese, and their excessive anxiety for *foreign commerce*, and for purchasing " *any thing and every thing*," new commercial regulations were being promulgated at Canton, of such an onerous nature, that the English free merchants resident there (not content with the expressions used in their petition), declare, that " *they cannot submit to them*,"—that " *the co-existence of trade and the enforcement of the regulations is impossible*,"—that " they are so *subversive of commerce* as actually to *strike at the basis* on which it is founded,"—and that " the adoption of these regulations would certainly make *life miserable*, and *property insecure !*" And while these proceedings were going on, the people in the neighbourhood of Canton were burning the Manchester cotton twist in the highways, and threatening with death any person who exposed it for sale! The fact is, that the majority of witnesses whose names have been just given, have either *never been in China at all*, or merely visited one port in the whole empire, as captains of ships, during the trading season; but if attention be directed to the testimony of Mr. Davis, who resided many years in China, paid great attention to the language and institutions of the country, and travelled for six

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months through the interior of the empire to Pekin, a true description of the Chinese character will be seen minutely depicted. Mr. Davis was asked, "Is the foreign trade considered of real importance to the Chinese, or is their government independent of it?" Answer:—"I should think their government is *as independent of it as that of any country in the world:* they have besides a *decided objection to an increased intercourse with foreigners,* and diminish as much as possible their intercourse by laying *heavy duties* upon foreign manufactures;"—"the institutions of the country are built on the maxims of their great philosopher, Confucius; and it was a leading precept of his to *avoid intercourse with foreigners* ('to despise foreign commodities,'—these are his words). The sacred books of the Chinese are different from the sacred books of most other countries; they are not so much religious works as treatises on ethics and on government; and so long as the Chinese venerate those books, so long will the institutions built upon those books remain *more or less unchanged.*" Such being the actual state of the people and the government, it is not to be wondered at, that frequent interruptions have taken place in the foreign commerce of China. Before the trade became extensive, they admitted Europeans to different harbours, but now they shut them out from all but *one,* and interdict the Russians trading by *sea,* because they have the privilege to do so by *land;* and it would be contrary to the well-known cunning and general deep policy of the people and the government, to find them permitting any thing which might tend to hazard the integrity of the empire, or disturb social relations which have existed from time immemorial.* Two great stoppages of trade have taken place of late years, viz., in 1814 and in 1821: the former originated with the Company; the latter with the Chinese. It is unnecessary to enter into a detail of them at present, but it may be observed, as so much obloquy has been cast on the Company's servants by Mr. Crawfurd, for the exercise of the power entrusted to them for the general good, that Mr. Davidson, who was one of the greatest sufferers by both the stoppages, says, that "he believes the stoppage of 1814 to have *been perfectly unavoidable;*" that

* Vide Appendix C, Regulation the *first,* in which the Chinese government adverts to the increased resort of foreigners, as a reason for being more strict!

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in 1821, "the *Free trade* ships did load and depart quietly, at a time when it seemed to be pretty universally considered, that the *Company's ships would have been forced to assume a hostile attitude pending a reference to England;*" and Mr. Stewart, who has been frequently to China, is of opinion that if the trade were open, it would be necessary to vest a similar power in a body constituted at Canton, as that now possessed by the Select Committee of the East India Company.

The commencement of the recent disturbances in China will be best understood by the following extract from the Canton Register, a journal published in English, edited by a gentleman not in the Company's service, and as far as practicable, an advocate for more extensive intercourse with China.

We regret to announce the interruption of the good understanding subsisting between the Canton government and the British factory, owing to *a course of outrageous conduct on the part of the individual who is, temporarily, at the head of it,* during the absence of Governor Le, in suppressing the insurrection of the Hainan mountaineers.

Most fortunately for British interests, the firm bearing of the new Committee kept the Chinese in check for a time; and it was hoped that it had proved completely successful in averting the evil consequences from which, in the first instance, none were sanguine enough to anticipate that we could escape. But the recoil has at length come, *however carefully guarded against, as it certainly has been by those in charge of the Company's affairs.*

The case of the unfortunate Woo-Yay, managing partner of How-qua's Hong, is the first topic adverted to in the Committee's circular. This innocent man has fallen a victim to the envy of his fellow merchants, and the malice of the Governor, who gained their object by falsely alleging that he held a traitorous intercourse with the English, the proof of which consisted in his having procured for one of them a sedan chair. He was imprisoned (as related in our former number) in November last, was tried for his life, threatened with torture, and sentenced to banishment to Ele, but died on the first of this month, from the rigours of a winter's imprisonment, and mental anxiety, operating on a feeble frame. While the proceedings against him were still pending—while a hope existed of his engaging the governor's venality in his favour, or that a sense of justice would arrest the iniquitous prosecution—it is obvious that any interference or remonstrance on the subject would only have had the effect of increasing the chances against his life, and would be assumed by his enemies as additional evidence of guilt. Now that prosecution has done its worst, while his fate is held out as a *warning to other merchants against dealing with the English,* the same motives for silence, from the apprehension of possible injury to him, no longer exist. And it can require but little consideration to come to the conclusion, *that an acquiescence in the impression which such proceedings must produce on the minds of the Chinese, must be alike injurious to national character and individual interests.*

The forcible entry of the Company's factory, which was the immediate occasion of bringing to light the evil passions that had been brooding, took place, very unexpectedly, on the 12th instant, about seven o'clock in the morning. It is said, that even the Hoppo had no previous knowledge of what was intended, when the Foo-yuen called at his

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residence, with 200 or 300 attendants, to request that he would accompany him to the factory. On entering the Public Hall, the Foo-yuen *directed that the portraits*, with which it was decorated, should be *uncovered, and when that of King George IV. was pointed out to him, he deliberately ordered the back of his chair to be turned to it, and seated himself in a manner plainly indicating contempt.* This manœuvre, however unimportant in itself, is far from immaterial, with reference to its obvious motive, more particularly when it is considered that no Chinese, without performing nine prostrations (in lieu of which our ambassador was required to perform nine obeisances) can approach even the curtain before the portrait of his own sovereign.

To those unacquainted with the locale, it may be here necessary to explain, that after the fire in 1822, the rubbish removed from the ruins, was made use of by the Chinese to advance the bank of the river, immediately above the Company's factory over a mud flat, partly dry at low water This of course occasioned an increased deposit of mud in front of the factory, which so obstructed the approach of boats to the bank, that it became necessary to push out the quay about forty yards over the flat. And the enclosing walls, from the factory to the river (previously existing), were extended over the ground thus saved, *with the express sanction of the authorities.* Two years ago, a part of the space was laid out as a shrubbery.

The work of destruction commenced next day, and is, we believe, now completed, by the exertions of about 500 Chinese labourers, working day and night, when not prevented by the rise of the tide.

The excavated rubbish has been conveyed in boats to about 50 yards off, and (strange to say) there thrown into the middle of the river, as if to show, that, *far from wishing to clear the bed of the river, insult alone was the object in view.*

It is difficult to account for this violence of conduct, which is considered, by the *Chinese themselves, as outrageous and improper in the highest degree.* Some think it is grounded on orders from Peking, not yet divulged. Possibly, it may have been a scene got up by the Foo-yuen, to strike terror into the minds of foreigners, and reconcile them the more readily to the new regulations of trade (issued a few days afterwards), of which a translation will appear in our next.* It is impossible for us to conceal that *the present rupture is considered by far the most serious that has of late occurred; nor is it easy to foresee how a reconciliation can be brought about,* unless the tried moderation and superior experience of Governor Le should induce him to disapprove of what has been done, in his absence, by his hot-headed deputy. It is to be hoped the orders from Peking are not so imperative as to preclude him from acting on his own judgment, and that he may have discernment to perceive the perilous situation in which recent acts have placed the continuance of the amicable relations between the two countries; and, *eventually, the very existence of the trade.— Canton Register, May,* 1831.

The whole of the foregoing article is important, more especially as the opponents of the Company have been loud in their praise of the *Canton Register* for the *true details* of Chinese affairs which it affords them. To this opinion I cordially subscribe; but I cannot help thinking the editor evinced more zeal than discretion in publishing the petition to the House of Commons from the unincorporated merchants, as its language must have been far from soothing to the pride of the Chinese authorities, and as the present outrage seems to have been "some time

* Vide Appendix C.

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concocting," the publication of so obnoxious a series of charges against the Canton authorities was not improbably the grand provocative stimulus to outrage, particularly as the insertion of the petition in the *Register* was followed up by a series of articles equally violent in language, condemnatory in style, and full of hostile insinuations and threats.

1st. The present dispute has *not* been caused by the East India Company's servants, as stated in the *Times* newspaper by an individual who, as I said before, has never been in China, and who cannot write a line on Eastern affairs without dipping his pen in gall and falsehood. The *Register* says it is "owing to a *course of outrageous conduct on the part of an individual who is temporarily at the head of the government;*" that "*the firm bearing of the Company's servants kept the Chinese in check for a time;*" and that "*the recoil was carefully guarded against by those in charge of the Company's affairs.*"

2nd. The old story about the Chinese paying no respect to the Company, because they are not the *King's servants*, is shown to be absurd, by the treatment the picture of his Britannic Majesty received, than which a greater insult could not be offered to royalty, according to Chinese etiquette.

3rd. The allegations in the *Times* that the Company's servants had encroached on the river, is shown to be as untrue as any other of the statements so sedulously put forth by an enemy who seems to pay an equal regard to truth and untruth. The *Chinese themselves* made use of the rubbish which remained from the great fire in 1822 "*to advance the bank of the river over a mud flat partly dry at low water;*" and with the "*express sanction of the authorities,*" the walls with which the Chinese compel the factories to be surrounded were extended to the quay, which it was found necessary to push out over the flat! That *insult alone was intended*, says the editor, and not *the clearing the bed of the river*, is evident from the "excavated rubbish from the demolition of the Company's factory being conveyed in boats about fifty yards off, and there *thrown into the middle of the river!*"

4th. The nervous anxiety of the Chinese for foreign commerce is demonstrated by their prosecution of the principal Hong merchant's partner, even unto death, "*while his fate is held out as a warning to other merchants against dealing with the English.*"

5th. That the Company's servants did not wantonly and un-

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reasonably issue a notice for stopping the trade, is evident from the opinion entertained at Canton, where the editor says "it could require but *little consideration to come to the conclusion that an acquiescence in the impression which such proceedings must produce on the minds of the Chinese must be alike injurious to national character and individual interests.*" The same opinion is entertained by the British merchants at Canton in their petition to Parliament, which the following extract therefrom will prove:—

"Your petitioners entertain a firm belief that *much may be obtained from the fears*, but that *nothing will ever be conceded by the good will of the Chinese governm.nt.* In confirmation of this opinion the attention of your Honourable House need only be entreated to the total failure of both the embassies to the court of Peking in every respect, except the high principle which was maintained in the refusal to acquiesce in humiliating and degrading requisitions; which, your petitioners are convinced, produced a moral effect of the most beneficial tendency upon the minds of the Chinese.

"The result of the two British embassies, in common with those of all other European governments, will forcibly suggest to your Honourable House, how *little is to be gained in China by any of the refinements of diplomacy.*

"The whole history of the foreign intercourse with this country demonstrates that a *firm opposition to the arrogance and unreasonoble pretensions of its government, even with imperfect means, has, sooner or later, been followed by an amicable and conciliatory disposition.* While the Portuguese of Macao maintained their independence, they were treated by the Chinese government with respect, and carried on an extensive and advantageous commerce; but when they adopted a servile course of policy, they were regarded with contempt, and a flourishing colony has gradually sunk into misery and decay. *Even violence has frequently received friendly treatment* at the hands of this government, while obedience and conformity to its arbitrary laws have met only with the return of severity and oppression. In the history of English commerce with China, many instances of this description exist. When Admiral Drury, in compliance with the reiterated commands of the Canton government, yielded up possession of Macao, which for several months had been garrisoned by a British force, the most contumelious and threatening proclamations were issued against him; and he was declared to have fled from a dread of the punishment which awaited him. About the same period, after a horde of pirates, well known by the name of "Ladrones," had, for a succession of years, ravaged the southern coasts of the empire, and committed numerous atrocities, their leader, a man of bold and determined character, was received in person by the Viceroy with every mark of respect, invested with a robe of honour, and ultimately nominated to an important official situation."

In reference to the stoppage of trade, arising from the indiscriminating laws of the Chinese, as applied to foreigners, the same petition observes—"*It is much to the honour of the British factory* that, since the year 1784, when an innocent man was seized and executed by the government of Canton, *a firm and effectual resistance has been made against the enforcement of this unjust requisition, though such resistance has invariably given rise to suspension of commercial inter-*

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course and *long protracted discussions with the government.*"*

When the outrageous attack on the factory was made, the gentlemen composing it were at Macao, the business of the season having terminated, two members of the Select Committee and the secretary were instantly dispatched to Canton on receipt of the intelligence, and delivered to the Hong merchants, in full meeting, remonstrances to the government, and offered the keys of the Company's premises; the Hong merchants were, however, afraid to present the one or receive the other; but the Quang-heep, a military officer of some rank, who usually receives petitions at the city gates, having visited the Company's garden, Mr. Lindsay took the opportunity of placing the documents and keys in his possession, the latter in a sealed cover, addressed to the Foo-yuen or deputy governor, which were refused.†

There being no mode of bringing the authorities at Canton to a sense of propriety, the Select Committee issued the following notice, in doing which they were warmly supported by the unincorporated merchants.

NOTICE OF STOPPING THE BRITISH TRADE WITH CHINA.

Several recent acts of the Chinese Government have compelled the President and Select Committee to intimate to the authorities in Canton, that while exposed to them, it is impossible that commercial intercourse should continue and to acquaint the British community that unless the evils complained of were removed, or security against their recurrence obtained, such intercourse would of necessity be suspended on the 1st of August next.

The acts of the Chinese Government which the Select Committee have adopted as the grounds of this proceeding are the following:—

The seizure, close imprisonment, and subsequent death of a Hong merchant, his alledged crime being his "traitorous connexion" with the English. No association ever did take place with this merchant, except of an extensive commercial nature, and in his mercantile dealings he proved himself an intelligent and most industrious man.

The recent attack made upon the British factory in Canton by their Excellencies the Foo-yuen and Hoppo (in the absence of the Governor, the principal officers of the Canton government), accompanied by a numerous body of armed attendants, without any previous intimation of their intentions; *the forcible entry of the public hall of the factory*; the abandonment of the factory by all Chinese servants, who fled under the greatest alarm; *the tearing down of the King of England's picture, which was otherwise treated with indignity; the threatening the senior Hong merchant with imprisonment and death, and the compelling him and others who were present, to remain for upwards of an hour upon their knees, on account of their connexion with the English; the seizure of the senior linguist, who was thrown into chains in the Company's hall, and*

* The Americans, notwithstanding the examples of the past, gave up poor Terranova to be strangled, and then they were permitted to recommence their trade!

† Vide Appendix D.

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orders were given for his execution, which was only suspended on the repeated intercession of the Hoppo and Hong merchants, when he was committed to prison; the breaking down of the gates of the factory leading to the river, and destruction of the quay, built by the express sanction of the Governor of Canton; the demolition of the walls, the uprooting of trees, and general devastation of the property.

The death of the Hong merchant above stated, and the occurences briefly mentioned, have taken place since the commercial business of the season was concluded in perfect tranquillity, and while the President and Select Committee were residing at Macao, resolute in their determination to leave no means in their power untried to preserve a pacific intercourse with this country. *Two members of the Select Committee proceeded to Canton* to seek redress from these acts of the Government. *Their remonstrance has been unattended to, and the demolition of the Company's property is going forward, the natives employed at work during the night.* Further intimation has been given to the Select Committee that these were only the commencement of a course of proceedings of a similar character; and a proclamation has been received by them, issued in the name of the *principal officers of the Canton Government, interdicting the employment of native servants, and the presentation of petitions at the city gates; precluding all communication with Canton by means of foreign boats, and ordering bodies of Chinese soldiers to act as a guard on the ships at anchor at Whampoa. The proclamation is accompanied by a threat, that should foreigners decline submitting to the commands of the Government, they will be expelled from the country, and for ever prohibited from coming to Canton for the purposes of commerce.*

The Select Committee abstain from adverting to minor grievances; the foregoing they regret to think are more than sufficient to justify them in the course which they are compelled to pursue. They will deem it their duty immediately to communicate the state of affairs in this country to the Supreme Government of India. They refrain from attempting to characterize the acts which they complain of. Under the influence of the most pacific disposition, their present decision is the result of calm and deliberate consideration. They feel confident in the support of the Court of Directors of the East-India Company, who, guided by mature judgement, will discern that the credit and security of their commerce cannot, under such circumstances, be maintained; and should an appeal be made to his Majesty's Government, they are equally *confident that British national character and commercial interests in China, will be too plainly seen to be inseparably associated to admit of the possibility of their being with safety disunited.*

Published by order of the President and Select Committee,

R. Hudleston, Sec.

British Factory, Macao, May 20, 1831.

The foregoing able document speaks for itself; it proves that the Select Committee were actuated by a high and noble feeling, such as ought ever to influence the proceedings of Englishmen, and they justly thought that the "*British national character and commercial interests in China are too insepara ly associated to admit of the possibility of being safely disuni ted.* Where is the grovelling wretch whose sordid soul throbs but at the anticipation of immediate increased wealth, and who would sacrifice kith and kin, and individual integrity as well as national honour, for the one eternal all-absorbing idea of augmenting

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exports of cotton at the expense of the health and morals of thousands of miserable infants—where, I ask, is the being calling himself an Englishman that does not, or dares not, respond to the ennobling sentiments conveyed in the above notice? In the language of "*The Curse of Minerva*," I may say—

> "In Britain's injured name,
> A true-born Briton may the deed disclaim—
> * * * * * *England owns him not!*"

Were the servants of the East India Company left unsupported by their countrymen in China? Did the English merchants, who carry on a trade with Canton of upwards of £3,000,000 sterling, did they think the Select Committee had used the power of stopping the trade entrusted to them prematurely or improperly? By no means: the very reverse; in the following resolutions which they published, they manfully "*desired to express their unequivocal approval of the measures adopted by the Select Committee*, considering them conducive to the *general interests of British commerce with China!*" But, *lege,—lege.*

Resolutions of the British Unincorporated Merchants of Canton, 30th of May, 1831.—The undersigned, British subjects resident in Canton, having seen the *recent acts of aggression committed by the Chinese on the property of the Honourable East India Company*, and witnessed with deep regret the cruel treatment and death of an innocent Hong merchant, on the false charge of traitorous connection with the English; and the Viceroy and Hoppo having now communicated to them a new and objectionable code for the future regulation of the commerce of Canton, they have unanimously resolved—

1. That the statement, published by the President and Select Committee, of the grounds upon which they have come to the determination of stopping the trade (should satisfaction for past and security against future aggressions not be granted by the Chinese authorities), *enumerates only a part of the vexatious exactions unceasingly made upon European commerce in this country.*

2. That *the new code of regulations for foreign commerce*, recently submitted to the Emperor for his approval, in place of alleviating, *tends materially to aggravate the evils of the arbitrary and obnoxious system under which commercial intercourse with China has been hitherto with difficulty carried on.* That the mere fact of such regulations having been promulgated, would not produce much impression on the minds of the undersigned, it being well known that the Chinese authorities issue laws which they never mean to enforce; but when this code, now delivered to all the merchants in Canton, is joined to the fact of the violent entry of the Company's factory, the demolition of their property, the gratuitous insult offered to the picture of the King of England, and particularly the refusal of the local government to receive any remonstrances or address from the Hon. Company's servants, *a deliberate plan to oppress and degrade British subjects is clearly manifested; to endure which, in silence, would prove them deserving of even the insults they are exposed to.*

3. They therefore feel it their duty to remonstrate with the members of the Chinese government, and to appeal to their own country, against yielding to the caprice of the local authorities, convinced as they are

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that, for the ultimate benefit and security of commerce, it were even better to resort to extreme measures of resistance, than to render the trade, each year, *more precarious and unproductive by submitting to increased exactions, national injury, and constantly recurring petty disputes with the provincial government of Canton.*

4. That the refusal of the local authorities to receive any communication from the President and Select Committee, thus preventing all amicable adjustment of existing differences, renders it advisable to adopt the most decisive steps, if Great Britain wish to retain any beneficial commercial intercourse with China, it being apparent from the whole history of foreign intercourse with this empire, since Captain Waddell, with a single merchant vessel, in the middle of the 17th century, took possession of the Bocca Tigris Fort, till Sir Murray Maxwell, in recent times, silenced the same fort by a single broadside, from the *Alceste*, that *firmness, resistance, and even acts of violence, have always succeeded in producing a spirit of conciliation,* while tame submission has only had the effect of inducing still further oppression.

5. THEY THEREFORE DESIRE TO EXPRESS THEIR UNEQUIVOCAL APPROVAL OF THE MEASURES LATELY ADOPTED BY THE SELECT COMMITTEE, CONSIDERING THEM CONDUCIVE TO THE GENERAL INTERESTS OF BRITISH COMMERCE WITH THIS COUNTRY.

(Signed) W. Jardine, Jas. Matheson, A. P. Boyd, Jas. H. Rodgers, George Horback, James Ilbery, A. Saunders Keating, Alexander Matheson, T. C. Beale, A. Grant, R. Turner, James Innes, P. P. Robertson, W. H. Harton, C. Fearon, John C. Whiteman, F. Hollingworth, John Templeton, H. Wright, Henry S. Robinson, J. Henry.

I trust that on a perusal of these important documents, the Editors of the periodical press will abstain from giving currency to the calumnious assertions of anonymous partizans, and that they will support the efforts of their countrymen in a distant hemisphere, while endeavouring to extend the fame, the commerce, and above all, the *honour* of the British nation.

On the publication of the new regulations of trade (Vide Appendix C), the following spirited remonstrance from the *unincorporated* merchants was addressed to the Canton authorities;—I have repeatedly referred to it in the former pages of this work, and now insert it with a view to its being seen entire, and to shew the unanimity of feeling between the East India Company and the free traders.

REMONSTRANCE FROM THE BRITISH FREE TRADERS AT CANTON AGAINST THE ACTS OF THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT.

To His Excellency the Foo-yuen of Canton (and the Hoppo.)

A respectful address from the separate English Merchants, Jardine, Innes, &c. now residing here.

1. On the 10th day of the 4th moon of the present year, *a code of regulations, concerning the trade with foreigners,* prepared under the auspices of your Excellency, and submitted for the approval of the Emperor of China, was delivered to us by the Hong-merchants; and we have since received His Imperial Majesty's approval of the same.

2. *Many of these regulations are directly contrary to justness and moral fitness,*

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which your Excellency and the Chinese Empire have hitherto held to be the right rules of conduct, and *are so subversive of commerce, as actually to strike at the very basis on which it is founded*, viz. reciprocal wants, reciprocal advantages, and equal freedom. In your report to the Emperor, you state many of them to have gone into desuetude; and from a minute knowledge of trade, which is our profession, we beg to assure your Excellency, that the cause of their having done so is from no relaxation of duty on the part of the local officers, but from *the impossibility of the co-existence of trade, and the enforcement of such regulations.*

3. On these grounds, we consider it a duty, as well to ourselves, as to our distant constituents, who have commercial dealings with this empire to represent to your Excellency, *that it is impossible to submit to the proposed Code, against which we beg here respectfully, but firmly to protest.*

4. We cannot but complain that the whole *tenor of the regulations is unjust, and highly offensive to the feelings of foreigners,* in repeatedly *accusing them of traitorous intercourse with natives*—an *accusation* which is *notoriously false*; and for a refutation of which, we need only refer to the regulations themselves, in which it is admitted that "we have remained at Canton for many years, transacting business with mutual tranquillity."

5. In these regulations, it is stated that "the Hong-merchants are to govern and control foreigners," who are, "*not to be allowed to remain at Canton to find out the price of goods, to make purchases, and acquire profit*"—nor, "of their own accord, *to go in and out of the foreign factories.*" We have always understood that Hong-merchants were appointed for the purpose of carrying on commercial dealings with foreigners, on fair, liberal, and honourable terms—and it is quite incompatible with this object that either of the contracting parties should be under the orders of the other, since *commerce cannot be carried on, unless when the buyer and seller are able to treat on a footing of perfect equality.* Moreover, it is completely at variance with the ancient practice of the Chinese Empire, which permitted foreigners to enter the city for the purpose of communicating personally with the Mandarins, on affairs connected with trade and the government of foreigners.

6. The ground on which the factories in Canton are built, within which we live, is the property of the Hong-merchants, by whom they are let to us at an annual rent, and, for the time we so hold them, we are justly entitled to protection for ourselves and our property. In former times, it was the custom for armed sailors to come up from Whampoa, for the purpose of protecting these factories; but many years of entire protection of property by the vigilance of the Government, have put this practice into disuse. Moreover, in the year 1814, the Governor guaranteed the inviolability of the foreign factories. *Now, a recent attack on the property and factories of the English East India Company, which was not only a breach of the engagement so made, but an act of absolute hostiltiy, has destroyed the confidence we felt, and proved to us that the Hong merchants have not the power to protect us.* Unless this outrage be redressed, we may, *most reluctantly, be compelled to resort to the old and troublesome custom of bringing up armed sailors for our safety.*

7. In article 8 of the code of regulations, your excellency is pleased to prohibit us from approach in numbers to the city gate, for purposes of petition; we beg to observe, that the right of foreigners to present petitions at the city gate is established by old custom. Our reason for going thither, in bodies of more than one or two, *is for protection against the violence of the police officers and soldiers at the gate, who have the audacity to attack those coming for justice to your Excellency with abuse and even blows!!*

8. We, in the most respectful, yet earnest manner, approach your Excellency with the strongest hopes of redress of grievances, and future protection of property. We ask your Excellency, things strictly consistent with the reciprocal rights of friendly nations engaged in commercial relations; and WE PROTEST AND APPEAL TO THE EMPEROR AGAINST THE ADOPTION OF RULES WHICH WOULD CERTAINLY MAKE LIFE MISERABLE, AND PROPERTY INSECURE.

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[Here follows the signatures of the British Unincorporated Merchants.]
William Jardine, James Matheson, James H. Rogers, George Horback, James Ilbery, Arthur S. Keating, Alexander Matheson, T. C. Beale, R. Turner, James Innes, W. H. Harton, C. Fearon, John C. Whiteman, F. Hollingworth, John Templeton, H. Wright, Henry S. Robinson.

What a direct contradiction the foregoing offers to the flippant testimony of the majority of the English and American witnesses before Parliament, and which, if the present rupture had not occurred would probably have been made the ground for changing the system of the China trade? It is a striking instance of the absolute necessity of receiving with the greatest caution the farrago of free trade nonsense which a few impostors and quacks are desirous of forcing down the throats of all nations, *nolens volens*, and who deem those who have built up the British power to its present height, as no better than a herd of senseless asses who were ignorant of the principles of political economy; a truly useful science which its very advocates have brought into disrepute by their absurd application of its rules to every stage of society, and without any regard to the wants or desires of a people.

The following answers to the remonstrances were received from the Foo-yuen and Hoppo.

The Foo-yuen's Reply.

"Choo, acting governor and Foo-yuen of Canton, to the Hong merchants. A petition has now been received from the English private merchants Jardine, Innes, and others, saying,"

(Here follows a copy of the Remonstrance.)

"This coming before me, the Foo-yuen, I have examined the subject, and decide as follows: Barbarians of all nations, who come to the open market at Canton to trade, ought to yield implicit obedience to the interdicts and orders of the Celestial Empire. But the said nations, barbarian merchants, some time ago, in consequence of *seeking a diminution of charges*, procrastinated and delayed entering the port. They also clandestinely brought foreign females to reside in the factories; and by stealth conveyed muskets and guns to Canton. These doings were really criminal acts of opposition.

"Soon after this, the minister and governor Le stated to his Majesty the old regulations, together with some modifications, which were decided on in council, and solicited and received an imperial order, directing that barbarians, after they had completed the sale of their goods, should not remain in Canton to find out the prices of commodities, and form connexions with the natives. The object was to make the Hong merchants responsible for the control of the barbarians, and to prevent their bringing foreign females, guns, and arms, to Canton. Also to disallow taking many persons to present a petition. Of all these regulations now enacted, most of them, from length of days, had become the usage, and all the barbarians of the several nations knowingly obeyed and adhered to them.

"Now these barbarian merchants alone presume to say, that these regulations and commerce cannot go on together; and that the control of Hong merchants does not agree with old usage, and in a whining manner dun with their petitions. Going thus far is already false and wild. But

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they proceed to talk about an abrupt entrance into the Company's factory a few days ago.

"I, the Foo-yuen, during the first decade of the fourth moon, went in person to the Company's factory, to examine and manage an affair. That factory is on the ground of the Provincial City, and is under my jurisdiction. Not only will I go in person, but if the said barbarians audaciously presume to act irregularly without due fear, *I will, as I ought, also take troops with me, and open a thundering fire upon them. I will do so without feeling the least possible anxiety, or regard to consequences.*

"As to what is said about the barbarians going to the city gate with petitions, and the soldiers for no cause chastizing and abusing them, it is still more unreasonable. That which they affirm in their petition is manifestly *to gloss over a falsehood.*

"To sum up the whole. Of late many of the barbarians of that nation have understood what was proper; and there are not a few also of such as Jardine and Innes.* There is no doubt that their conduct arises from the adulation and flattery of the Hong merchants, together with the mischievous suggestions of linguists and compradores, with whom they are connected.

"If they (Jardine, &c.) do not reform themselves, they will most certainly become the injured (or ruined) victims of those people.

"Uniting the above circumstances, I hereby issue an order to the Hong merchants, to proceed immediately, and rigorously enjoin the barbarian merchants, Jardine and others, that hereafter they must, as they ought, implicitly obey the regulations now established. Let them quietly keep in their own sphere, and carry on trade and barter. If they again dare intentionally to disobey the orders of government, and indulge themselves in making confused (or false) statements, then decidedly there shall be an immediate and severe infliction of reprehension and expulsion. And I will take the Hong merchants who did not keep them under strict control, and the linguists and compradores who taught and instigated them—one and all, and punish their crimes with a heavy hand. Positively there shall not be the least clemency or forgiveness shewn. Tremble at this. A special edict.

"The 11th year, 6th moon, 4th day.

"(July 12th, 1831.)"

The Hoppo's reply:

"Chung, by imperial appointment, commissioner of customs at the port of Canton, &c. &c. to the Hong merchants: the said merchants have presented a foreign petition in Chinese characters from the *English private merchants Jardine and others*, in which it is stated—"

(Here follows a copy of the Remonstrance.)

"This coming before me, the Hoppo, and being authenticated, I have examined, and find from the time the English first came to Canton to trade till now, a period of more than 100 years, they have, while looking up and beholding the (imperial) virtue and majesty, been hitherto called respectful and obedient; but in the 24th year of Këen Lung (1759), a foreign merchant of that nation, Hung-Jin-Hwuy (the Chinese name given to Mr. Flint), having listened to and followed the seducements of a Chinese traitor, Leu-a-pien, presumed to oppose and violate the prohibition and orders, the imperial will was received to keep Hung-Jin-Hwuy in close confinement at Macao, and to execute Leu-a-pien. In consequence of this the then governor Le presented for the imperial decision five regulations, for restraining and guarding against outside foreigners, which were established to be obeyed and kept.

"This year the minister and governor Le, considering that present and

* These are the leading gentlemen of the British unincorporated Merchants, who presented the Remonstrance against the Acts of Aggression.

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former circumstances are different, made modifications of the same, and having formed them into eight regulations, he drew up in council a memorial laying them before the Emperor, and the imperial will has already been received, sanctioning them; the said foreign merchants ought to keep implicitly the established usages, and peaceably continue their trade.

"Lately, the English private merchants, Jardine, Innes, and others, have presented a petition, stating that the whole scope of the regulations is at variance with the principles of justice, thus whiningly disputing and contradicting; and also requesting to appeal to the Emperor not to permit their being put in practice. This is extreme insolence and opposition.

"The Celestial Empire, in cherishing tenderness to distant foreigners, has constantly stooped to show compassion; but *between the flowery Chinese and barbarians there doubtless is a settled distinction; between those within and without there must be established a grand barrier:* the dignity of the great Emperor requires obedience and severity; how can the foreign merchants of every nation be suffered to indulge their own wishes in opposition to and contempt of the laws? Now as to the subjects on which Le, the minister and governor, presented a memorial, a severe imperial edict has been received, ordering them to be put in practice: if the said foreign merchants wish to disobey, they will not be disobeying Le, the minister and governor, but they will be daring to disobey the will and commands of the great Emperor.

"Thus foreigners are not allowed to bring with them to the foreign factories at the provincial city sailors and guns; this is a regulation long since established, and not a prohibition first made by the minister and governor Le: how can the said foreign merchants, in their intercourse with the country, have been ignorant thereof? Last year they clandestinely brought up cannon, and afterwards repenting immediately took them back. The great Emperor, whilst extending indulgence to the past, utterly prohibited it for the future. This was liberality equal to heaven; but now they make a pretext of defending their property, and wish to bring up (arms) again as formerly: is it not the fact that their minds are bent on perverse opposition? and thus by their own act they put themselves beyond the means of subsistence. Since the said foreigners know how to defend their property, how is it that they consider the stoppage to trade, and the entirely cutting off of the means of gaining a subsistence, and, on the contrary, take a course which will destroy their property.

"Moreover, the affairs of the English Company have all hitherto reverted to the chief's control; *at present the said chief, Marjoribanks, is profoundly intelligent, and acts with great propriety;* the said Jardine, Innes, and the others, are *merely private English merchants, and are not at all comparable to the Company;* how can they act thus irregularly, and dun with their requests? *The petition is in its phraseology proud and wilful, in its language it is confused and entangled, and in its words and ideas there is much that is not clear and perspicuous;* but I indulgently consider that they do not understand proper forms and decorum, and at the same time do not regard it worth while to enter into a minute examination and refutation of them.

"But *those who knock head at the gate of the market, and solicit commercial intercourse, must obediently keep the royal regulations; how can those who cross the seas to trade and export, be suffered to act disorderly and create disturbance? If the said private merchants really regard their property, they ought indeed to trade on as usual;* but if they dislike the restraint imposed by the orders of government, and consider their own private affairs to be disadvantageous, *the said private merchants may entirely withdraw their trade, and not trouble themselves to come from a great distance, through many countries of different languages: why cause suspicion and impediment to all the merchants, and occasion much talking?*

"Uniting these things, I forthwith issue this order; when it reaches the Hong merchants, let them immediately take the contents of the reply

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made by me the Hoppo, and enjoin them on the said nation's chief, that he may know and act accordingly, and continue to keep Jardine, Innes, and others, *under strict restraint,* not allowing them to create disturbance, and again dun with petitions. Intensely! intensely! are these special orders issued."

It seems scarcely possible to treat with becoming gravity such grotesque specimens of semi-barbarian insolence.—Yet what is to be done; when the merchants are told, that "*if they dislike the restraint imposed by the orders of Government, and consider their own private affairs to be disadvantageous, the said private merchants may withdraw their trade. and not trouble themselves to come from a great distance?*"

The tribute paid to the East India Company in the Hoppo's reply is worthy of remark, he says "the affairs of the English Company have *hitherto* reverted to the chief's controul,"—that "*Marjoribank's is profoundly intelligent, and acts with great propriety,*"—and again, that "*private English merchants are not at all comparable to the Company.*"

As for the enraged Foo-yuen, he threatens to "open a thundering fire upon the barbarians," whom he unceremoniously designates as "liars," and soforth!!

The factory having made every effort to procure redress for the past, and an indemnity for the future, and being of opinion that the acts of the local authorities at Canton would not be supported at Pekin, did as has been heretofore shewn, give notice of a suspension of intercourse after the 1st of August. They were corroborated in their opinion respecting the non-ratification of the Imperial government, by the following passage in the petition from the free-merchants who state,—"*that severe burdens are imposed upon commerce unsanctioned by and frequently in defiance of, commands from the Imperial government at Pekin, to which the most erroneous reports are made of occurrences in this remote province, while no means of counteraction by opposing statements are in any way afforded to your petitioners.*"

As the Emperor of China's *personal fees* on every foreign vessel entering Canton amounts to 1,600 tales of silver, it was natural to suppose that a cessation of this duty would call for an inquiry into the cause; but as if on purpose to shew the carelessness of the government for foreign commerce, his Imperial Majesty not only approved of, and confirmed the proceedings of the Canton authorities, but denounced "*the*

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barbarians as being of a deceitful and crafty disposition;" and the monarch seems determined to "*eradicate the disturbance of foreign barbarians, as it was altogether incumbent not lose the celestial empire's respectability in governing!*"

The following is the answer of the emperor, or as the *Times* terms him the "*snub-nosed-savage.*"

The Emperor of China's Answer respecting Foreign Trade.

"Le and others have sent a memorial, explaining the old regulations, designed to guard against *foreign barbarians,* and certain modifications, agreed on in Council, desiring that obedience to the same may be required, &c.

"The English foreign merchants recently *solicited a diminution of fees,* and on this account delayed entering the port. Again, last year, they clandestinely brought foreign women to the factories, and, by stealth, conveyed muskets and guns to the city of Canton. Immediately after, they themselves came to repentance, and did not persevere to the end in their refractory opposition; but, *the barbarians' disposition being deceitful and crafty,* it is absolutely necessary to carry into effect prohibitions and orders with severity: and to give importance to guards set up by old regulations. Present and former circumstances are not the same; and these are thus suitable, or not, according to the times. The said Governor and others have agreed on certain additions and diminutions to be generally obeyed and maintained, and have ordered civil and military officers, soldiers, and police, to be faithful and active in keeping a constant search and guard: also the Hong merchants and Linguists are required to be faithful and trusty in watching and searching to supply checks and control.

"It is hereby ordered, that the regulations contained in the eight paragraphs agreed on in Council, be carried into effect.

"The said foreign merchants have, on former occasions, repeatedly opposed interdicts and orders, but since they came of themselves to repentance, let, through clemency, their punishment be waived. But it is absolutely necessary to order them to obey, and hold fast the old regulations. How can it be that they will again oppose and transgress. Still if they be allowed *daily to increase in arrogance and insolence*; in a trifling with, and contempt of, the laws: in indulging their irregular disposition to perverse refractions, and gradually going to an increased exhibition of their pride and want of self restraint, what, eventually, will the appearance of things be? Let the said Governor, and others be strict in enforcing our internal customs, and so *eradicate the disturbance of foreign barbarians.* It is altogether incumbent not to lose the Celestial Empire's respectability in governing. Then the management will be supremely good. Take this edict, and order it to be known. Respect this."

In obedience to the Imperial will we send forward this letter.

The above coming to me, Minister and Governor, I forthwith issue orders requiring obedience thereto. On my orders reaching the Hong-merchants, let them immediately communicate the orders to the English nation's foreign merchants, and to the foreign merchants of all the nations, for their reverential obedience thereto.

There has been repeatedly disobedience to interdicts and orders, but since the parties themselves came to repentance, let through clemency, their punishment be waived. Hereafter it will be absolutely necessary to yield implicit obedience to the laws and regulations of the Celestial

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Empire, and adhere strictly to old arrangement. If again any dare to oppose or transgress and again create disturbance; then assuredly an immediate adherence to the Imperial will, a severe scrutiny shall be made, and punishment inflicted. Decidedly there will not be the least clemency or forbearance shewn. Tremble at this. Intensely—intensely are these commads given.

Taou-Kwang, 11th year, 4th moon, 11th day.
(May 22nd, 1831.)

On the publication of the foregoing edict, it was evident that nothing was to be gained by the stoppage of trade; the Imperial Government at Pekin had evidently followed the advice given by the Canton authorities in 1821, at the time of the Topaze's affray, when the Chinese themselves stopped the trade; the despatch from the governor of Canton to the emperor, of which the following is an extract, shews that they are too well aware of the power they possess over the foreign commerce. "*With respect to the Christian foreign merchants, I* (says the governor), *reasoned with them, and pointed out to them the great principles of justice and equity, and shewed it was right for them to do what I required of them—but all in vain; good principles and solemn truths had no effect upon them, and I was compelled to interdict their trade,—to touch their gains!—And no sooner was that done than than they submitted!! They are a mercenary, gain scheming, set of adventurers whom reason cannot rule; the dread of not making money is that alone which influences them.*"—Again, the government says, and this be it observed is their present, and will be their future policy—"*the English might be brought to stoop if tea were refused, but if they could get the tea any other way they would be careless about pleasing China;—would indeed despise her—and do as their humours dictated. By tea-reins* (said the governor to the emperor in allusion to the *manège* of a vicious horse), *your majesty can controul the English, therefore let us take care that they get no tea but what we choose to give them!!*

When the select committee saw that the government were adopting this policy, and that no good would result from their perseverance in the former notice, they very properly issued the annexed notification, and appealed to India, and to England for further advice at such a juncture.

Stopping of Trade Rescinded.

Notice.—"The President and Select Committee on the 20th ultimo gave public notice, that 'several recent acts of the Chinese Govern-

ment have compelled them to intimate to the authorities in Canton, that while exposed to them it is impossible that commercial intercourse could continue, and to acquaint the British community, that, unless the *evils* complained of were *removed* or *security against their recurrence* obtained, such intercourse would of necessity be suspended on the 1st of August next.

"Since the publication of this intimation, the evils of which they complained have assumed an altered and more decided character, being confirmed by an Imperial proclamation from Pekin, directing the most harassing and restrictive regulations to be imposed upon foreigners, and indirectly countenancing the acts of aggression which have been committed.

"The local officers of the Canton government would therefore, if appealed to for redress, find immediate justification under the sanction of imperial authority.

"The President and Select Committee do not intend to suspend commercial intercourse on the 1st of August next. *Their most anxious wish is the establishment of that intercourse upon a firm and respectable basis,* which object they feel, under existing circumstances, they will best accomplish by waiting the result of the measures which they have adopted, and the references they have made. *They are bound to consult the deep and valuable interests entrusted to them, and in doing so, they have made every sacrifice of personal feeling to what they consider public duty.*

"*Their property in Canton remains in the same state of devastation; they have received no explanation for the acts of aggression committed, and indignities offered, nor any security against their recurrence.*

"The new regulations applied to foreign trade have been confirmed by Imperial authority, and, under such circumstances, the President and Select Committee regret to state, that, *until redress of grievances be granted, they see no prospect of the uninterrupted continuance of British intercourse with China, or of commerce being conducted with credit or security.* They further offer their recommendation to all British residents in Canton, to exert every means in their power to recover such property belonging to them, as is at present in possession of natives of this country.

"By order of the Select Committee,

"H. H. LINDSAY, Secretary.

"*British Factory, Macao, June* 10, 1831."

What steps will be taken by the British government with whom the matter now rests, it is difficult to say, and it is not my intention to speculate on the subject; the Calcutta Journals of August state, that despatches have been forwarded to the admiral at Trincomalee communicating the state of affairs at Canton, but it is also observed, that "a very general opinion is current, that the Bengal government will not move in the matter till instructed from home, come what may of the trade in China or the British residents at Canton;" the journalists say "the prevalence of such an opinion, situated as we are in the eastern world is much to be regretted." If the home government act prudently they will follow the advice of the East India Company, and instead of leaving so important a branch of commerce in jeopardy or uncertainty as to its future arrangements

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a brief renewal of the China trade charter should be instantly guaranteed.

No man who has the welfare of his country at heart, and who is unbiassed by party feeling or private interests, can hesitate to award a high palm of merit to the Honourable East India Company, who have *pari passu*, risen with this country in the scale of nations—by whose instrumentality the British empire has been in a great degree extended over the face of the earth,—whose military servants have shed a bright halo of glory wherever the English flag has been unfurled, while their vast territorial conquests have been governed by a splendid array of genius, wisdom and talent. As was said of the " eternal city."—*While the Colliseum stood—Rome stood*— So also may it be said—*while the East India Company stands,—England stands!* And when the former shall have passed away, the meridian star of the latter will have set—perhaps in a long night of poverty—misery and crime.

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Appendix A.

Table exhibiting a Brief View of the Statistics of China Proper, &c. &c.*

PROVINCES.	Area of each Province in Statute Miles.	Population.*	Inhabitants to the Square Mile.	Revenue.	Rate of Taxation per head. £.	s.	d.	Military Force.
Pechely - - -	59,700	3,504,038	58	923,931	0	5	3	241,000
Kiannan - -	85,000	30,405,258	357	2,458,476	0	1	7	132,000
Kiansi - - -	72,000	5,922,160	82	981,374	0	3	3	39,000
Fokien - -	57,150	1,684,528	29	377,507	0	4	5	76,000
Chekian - - -	37,200	18,975,099	510	1,357,593	0	1	5	59,000
Houkouan - -	168,300	33,702,372	200	738,123	0	0	5	88,000
Honan - - -	62,000	2,662,969	43	1,052,826	0	7	10	24,000
Shanton - -	56,800	25,447,633	448	1,231,607	0	0	11	35,000
Shansi - - -	63,500	1,860,816	29	1,061,916	0	11	4	35,000
Shensi - -	167,700	257,704	1½	497,610	1	18	7	104,000
Sechuen - - -	175,600	7,789,782	44	195,484	0	0	6	85,000
Canton - -	97,100	1,491,271	15	424,567	0	5	9	99,000
Kouansi - - -	87,800	2,569,518	29	146,828	0	1	1	42,000
Yunnan - -	131,400	2,255,459	17	165,306	0	1	5	53,000
Koneicheou - -	51,200	2,941,391	57	36,764	0	0	3	70,000
Total - -	1,372,450	141,470,005	103	£11,649,912	0	1	7½	1,182,000

* From Minutes of evidence before Parliament.

† Exclusive of Tartary and the dependant provinces.

Appendix B.

Prices of Tea at Canton, France, Hamburgh, Bremen, and Antwerp.

TEAS.	Prices at Canton. February 1829.	Prices in France, November 1828.	Prices at Hamburgh, January 1829.	Prices at Bremen, January 1829.	Prices at Antwerp, November 1828.
	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.
Bohea............per b.	0 8½ to 0 9	0 6½ ——	0 5 to 0 7	0 9½ to 0 10	0 7¾ to 0 9½
Congou......	0 11 — 1 0	0 10½ ——	0 8¼ — 0 10¼	0 11½ — 1 3	1 1½ — 1 6
Campoi	0 11 — 1 0	——	0 8½ — 1 0	0 11½ — 1 3	1 3¼ — 1 8¼
Souchong	0 10¼ — 1 2½	1 0½ to 1 6¾	0 5 — 1 3¾	0 11 — 1 3	1 2½ — 1 8¾
Hyson	1 9¾ — 2 3	1 8½ — 2 1	1 10 — 2 8¼	2 9 — 2 11	2 5 — 3 4
Hyson Skin	0 6 — 1 0	0 6½ — 0 8½	0 6¼ — 1 0¾	0 11½ — 1 4½	1 2½ — 1 7
Young Hyson	1 8½ ——	——	0 9 — 1 4¾	1 1¼ — 1 11¾	1 7 — 1 10¾
Twankay	0 11 — 1 1¼	1 5 — 1 6½	0 7½ — 1 3¼	——	1 4¾ — 1 8¾
Gunpowder	2 3 — 2 6	3 5½ ——	2 4¼ — 2 9½	3 0 — 3 4	4 3½ — 4 5½
Pekoe	2 6 — 3 0	3 7½ — 5 8½	2 10½ — 4 7	2 9 — 8 4	4 11 — 6 4¼

The China tale is computed at 6*s.* 8*d.*, the pecul at 133⅓ lbs. The duty subtracted from the French prices is 1*s.* 2½*d.* per lb. due on tea imported by a foreign ship; the duty on tea in the Hanse Town being trifling, no deduction is made from the wholesale prices at Hamburgh and Bremen, giving our adversaries this benefit; and the *very lowest duty* payable on teas at Antwerp, has been deducted, namely, 5*s.* 11*d.* per cwt. for bohea, and 10*s.* 2*d.* for other teas (though in some circumstances the duty would be £1. 2*s.* 10½*d.* and £2. 3*s.* 3*d.*); all fractions below a farthing rejected, giving the benefit of the rejection to the adverse party. Some of the continental prices are *too high*. If the tale is assumed at more than its intrinsic value, the difference will not destroy the argument. To reduce the price of bohea at Canton even *one penny*, the tale must be taken so low as 5*s.* 10½*d.*

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Appendix C.

THE NEW CODE OF REGULATIONS.

The following is the new code which is to govern the intercourse between the government and the "barbarians:"—

"A memorial to explain old regulations intended to guard against *outside barbarians;* and also certain deliberations to modify them, by additions and diminutions, that the same may be obeyed and kept. Looking up, we pray for the sacred glance at the business.

"Canton provincial city being near the coast, and the place where foreign ships go and come, it is extremely fitting that the guard against them and watch over them should be perfectly complete and close.

"During the reign of Kien-lung, the English foreign merchants having violated the prohibitions of the celestial empire,* the then governor, Le-she-yaou, proposed to the emperor, and had enacted, five regulations, to guard against outside barbarians, which were available to keep them under controul; but, through length of days, they have gradually been neglected, and the execution of them relaxed.

"In the ninth year of Taou-kwang, the English foreign merchants, having long deferred entering the port, because they solicited a diminution of the port charges; and again, last year, having secretly taken females to live in the factories, and by stealth conveyed guns to Canton, which things were reported to the Emperor at the time; although the said foreigners repented, and did not end as they had begun, with perverse opposition; still, the disposition of barbarians being deceitful and crafty, it is absolutely necessary to carry into effect, with severity, the inhibitory orders, and to strengthen the guards against them.

"But as to the old regulations that were enacted, present and former circumstances are different; and there are some points which require consideration and modification, to suit the times, and then the whole may be obeyed and kept.

"We, calling to our aid the treasurer and judge, took the old regulations, and deliberated on the modifications which the times require, and have charged the civil and military officers, the soldiers and police, to exert themselves in keeping up a constant patrole and guard, and have required the Hong merchants and linguists to be faithful in examining and searching into what is going on. Thus, when strictness inside has become a habit, or established customs inside are enforced with strictness, disturbances from outside barbarians will be eradicated; and, seemingly, the principles of a good charioteer, in restraining and soothing his horse, will be more thoroughly carried into effect.

"Having reverently associated the hoppo Chung, we unitedly present, with profound respect, this memorial, and send a fair copy of the eight regulations, which have been deliberated on, for the Emperor's inspection, prostrate praying for his majesty's sacred perusal and instructions."

"A copy of the original regulations to guard against foreigners, together with the alterations which have now been made and arranged under *eight* topics, is hereby reverently presented for his majesty's perusal.

"*First.* Foreign merchants must not remain over the winter at Canton is an old regulation, that should be modified to keeping up, at all times, a guard against them.

* Tradition says that this governor had a share in Pwan-khe-qua's house.

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"When this regulation was originally framed, the foreign ships came to Canton and anchored, during the fifth and sixth moons; during the ninth or tenth they returned to their respective countries; they were not allowed to remain in Canton city, to find out the price of goods, to make purchases and acquire profit, and to go backwards and forwards, having intercourse with native Chinese, which originated traitorous connexions. If the goods in their hongs were not all sold, and they wished, for the time being, to live at Macao, they were permitted to suit their convenience. On searching, it was found that, in the time of Kien-lung, the foreign vessels which came to Canton did not exceed thirty or forty, but now they amount to seventy or eighty, or even one hundred.

"Of late years, the English Company's ships have arrived in succession during the seventh or eighth moons, and having exchanged their cargoes, have left the port in the twelfth moon, or in the first or second of the ensuing year.

"The said nation's Company's chief, and foreign merchants, after the Company's ships were gone, and affairs completed, requested permits to go to Macao and reside there, till the seventh or eighth moons, when the said nation's merchantmen came to Canton province, and then they requested permits to go up to Canton city, to superintend the commerce.

"Exclusive of these, there are the several nations of India and America, whose foreign ships come to Canton. Their trade is coming and going at uncertain intervals, by no means like the English Company's. Of these, under one man's name, there may be one or two ships in a year that come to Canton, or three or four ships; or an individual may have no ship at all, but only goods consigned to him to sell in some other ship. These foreign merchants all remain at Canton, to manage their affairs. As the foreign ships are now double what they were formerly, and the time of their anchoring is uncertain—besides, as they have remained at Canton transacting commercial affairs for many years, with mutual tranquillity, it is doubtless unnecessary to restrict them positively to the ninth or tenth moon, to return to their country.

"Hereafter, if foreign merchants do indeed arrive early at Canton city, and all their goods be sold, then, according to the old regulations, let them reverse their oar at the appointed time; but if they arrive late in the eighth or ninth moons, and require time to sell their goods, let the Hong merchants be charged to keep a strict oversight and controul over the foreign merchants residing in Canton; at the same time dealing justly, to make haste to pay the price of things, not being allowed to contract debts and persist in delaying.

"Let the foreign merchants of all nations, when their goods are sold and business finished, whatever the time may be, go home with their ships, or go down to Macao and reside there; they must not intentionally delay their departure. By this modification foreigners will be all prevented from lingering long in Canton, and traitorous natives will rarely have a pretext for forming illegal connexions.

"*Second.* Borrowing foreign merchant's money. It is right to eradicate the evil of contracting debts.

"When the regulations were originally established, native merchants violated prohibitions, by borrowing money of foreign merchants, and strung on, being led by hooked connexions. At that time their offences were punished according to the law for 'Forming connexions with foreign nations, and borrowing money to defraud.' The money borrowed was prosecuted for, and confiscated.

"This old law, against Hong merchants borrowing money of foreign merchants, was long strictly acted on. But the Hong merchants, when foreign merchants left the port, eventually made a vague statement (whether they were indebted for balances or not), that affairs were concluded. These are unworthy of credit, and the gloss should be done away with. Hereafter, besides prosecuting and punishing, according to law, the Hong merchants who borrow money of foreigners, and string on, and are led by hooked connexions with them, the foreign merchants who trade with Hong merchants must be made every year, when their affairs are concluded, to give in to the hoppo a voluntary written declaration for his examination, whether there be any outstanding

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claims or not. Then, should the Hong merchant fail, the foreign claims which have been previously reported will be paid by instalments; those that have not been reported, even if prosecuted for, will not receive any attention from government.

"And it must be ordered, that all balances due by Hong merchants' receipts must be paid within three months. Procrastination will not be permitted. And when they are paid, the foreign merchants' receipt must be presented to government, and preserved on record. If payment be not made within the limited period, it is allowed to the foreign merchant to prosecute. If he does not choose to prosecute, he may do as he pleases; but if he prosecute after the period has expired, government will pay no attention to his claims.

"This is to eradicate the trick of old and new claims being made to radiate upon each other.

"*Third.* The original interdict was to prevent foreign merchants hiring natives to serve them. This requires a little modification. The original regulations run thus: That foreign merchants, living in the factories, were strictly interdicted from employing any other natives than linguists and compradores.

"It is found by research, that of the natives who have been given to foreigners to serve, there has heretofore been a class denominated *Sha-wan*.* These have long been interdicted, and it is right still to act according to the old prohibitions, and severely interdict them. But recently the foreign merchants of various nations who have come hither have much increased. They continually require people to look after their goods, and the *black demon slaves*, which the foreign merchants bring, are by nature very stupid and fierce; if they (the foreign merchants) be compelled to use entirely black demon slaves, it is really apprehended that there will be such a large collection of them, that, in going out and in, they will wrangle with the natives, and the arrangement turn out to be the creation of disturbance. It is right to request that, hereafter, the people necessary in the foreign factories for taking care of cargo, keeping the gate, carrying water, and carrying goods, be hired by the compradore from among natives; and he shall report their names and surnames to the Hong-merchants, who, with the said factory's compradore, shall be made responsible for searching into what they do, and controlling them.*

"Should any of these people instruct and seduce the foreign merchants to act traitorously, let the Hong-merchants and compradores report them to government, and request that they may be prosecuted.

"*Fourth.* After the foreign merchants enter the port and anchor, let there be at that place, as heretofore, military officers and soldiers appointed to search and examine. In the factories, where foreigners live, let them be under the restraint and control of the Hong-merchants, to prevent disturbances.

"The regulations originally enacted were, that when the foreign ship had entered the port and anchored at Whampoa, a military officer and twelve soldiers should be sent from the kwang-heep; these were to construct a mat shed and keep guard. A military officer was also to be selected and sent from the tuh-peaou, to search and examine. And from the adjacent military station, a row-boat was to be sent from the left wing of the middle division, to co-operate in searching and examining. After the ship left the port, they were to be recalled: in these arrangements, there is no occasion to make any change. But, from length of days, these orders are considered mere form. It is right to make continually a secret search: and if the military become remiss, and steal repose, to punish them severely forthwith.

"As to foreign merchants lodging in Hong-merchants' factories, it has heretofore been made the duty of Hong-merchants to govern and control them. The purchases of goods made by them must pass through the hands of a Hong-merchant. This was originally designed to guard against traitorous natives misleading them, teaching them, and egging them on. Hereafter, the foreign merchants dwelling in the Hong-merchants' factories, must not be allowed, of their own accord, to go out and in, lest they should trade and carry on clandestine transactions with traitorous natives.

* *Sha-wan* is the Chinese mode of pronouncing the English word, servant.

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"The boats on Canton river, in which they go, must not be allowed to set sail and go fast, lest they rush against native boats on the river, and wrangle and quarrel. They must not be allowed to wander about the villages and market-places near Canton, in order that bloody affrays may be prevented.

"*Fifth.* Foreigners clandestinely taking foreign females to dwell in the factories, and at Canton, their ascending to sit in shoulder-chariots (sedan chairs), must both be interdicted.

"It is found on inquiry, that the foreigners of every nation bringing wives and women-servants to Canton city to dwell has long been strictly interdicted; but last year the English chief violated the law, and brought them. They have already been expelled, and driven back to Macao. It is found that the woman he brought to Canton was brought by the said foreign merchant from his own country. The women servants who followed them, were Portuguese of Macao, hired to serve.

"Hereafter it is right to issue strict orders to the chief foreign merchants of every nation, disallowing their bringing foreign women to Canton to reside. If they dare wilfully to disobey, their trade will be forthwith stopped, and they immediately sent, under escort, to Macao. At the same time, let it be made the duty of custom-house cruisers, officers, and soldiers, in the event of meeting foreigners carrying females to Canton, to intercept them, and send them back.

"Further, let orders be given to the Tung-che of Macao to transmit orders to the Portuguese foreign head man, Wei-le-to, and the Fan-chae (or foreign envoy), that hereafter other foreigners, hiring women to serve, are allowed to reside at Macao, only it is not allowed to the Macao authorities to permit them being taken to Canton. If there be disobedience to this order, Wei-le-to alone will be responsible.

"As to foreigners using chairs in Canton, it all arose from traitorous vagabonds giving them, and chair-bearers coveting gain. Besides ordering foreigners of every nation to yield obedience, and that hereafter they must not, at Canton, city, ascend the shore in sedan-chairs, let it be strictly interdicted for traitorous merchants to give chairs to, or hire chair-bearers for foreigners. And if chair-men, scheming to obtain gain, dare to disobey this order, as soon as it is discovered let them be seized and severely prosecuted.

"*Sixth.* It is right to make it the duty of custom-house cruisers, officers, and soldiers, with more strictness and care, to interdict and prevent foreigners from conveying muskets and guns to Canton.

"The interdict against foreigners bringing muskets or guns with them to Canton was originally very strict; but last year there was a foreigner who, suddenly and by stealth, conveyed muskets and guns to a foreign factory in Canton, violating, in an extreme degree, old regulations. Hereafter, let it be the duty of custom-house cruisers, officers, and soldiers, to be faithful in endeavouring to find out such attempts; and if foreigners should, by stealth, convey guns or other arms to Canton city, to the foreign factories, immediately to intercept them, and not allow their proceeding. If the officers and soldiers fail in discovering such attempts; or if, still worse, should they know of them and connive at them, let the said officers and men be immediately brought up, tried, and sentenced.

"*Seventh.* In case of English Company's Captains,* going backwards and forwards in boats, and foreign merchants' cargo vessels receiving clearances to quit the port, it is right to obey the standing regulation.

"Of the foreign ships that trade, the Company's captains, when it occurs that they have public business to attend to, go backward and forward in sampan boats, to interdict and stop which is difficult. It is right to allow them, as heretofore, to go in boats. If they carry any contraband goods let the custom-house officers and soldiers examine strictly, and report for the management of the affair. But heretofore there must be a foreign headman or captain in her, before a sampan-boat is allowed to go with a flag set. If there be no headman or ship captain in her, it must not be allowed, irregularly, to sail a boat with a flag set. Still, let the old regulatious be adhered to, to prevent confusion.

* Skippers.

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"In going from Macao to Whampoa and Canton, and from Canton to Whampoa and Macao, let a permit* be requested.

"They must not go and come when and as they please. Doing so will be an offence that will be inquired into. As to foreign merchants' cargo vessels receiving a red chop or clearance to quit the port, heretofore application has been made to the custom-house to inform the forts on every such occasion, that they may examine and let go, and so stoppages and disturbances be prevented.

"*Eighth.* It is necessary to make arrangements concerning foreigners presenting petitions, whether a distinction should not be made in affairs of importance, and it be settled when they must be presented for them, and when they themselves may present them.

"There must be explicit and fixed regulations determining whether the Hong-merchants are to present petitions for foreign merchants, or they are to present them themselves; then a confused way of acting, and an exceeding what is proper, may be prevented. Let an order be issued to the English and other foreign merchants, requiring their obedience thereto, that hereafter, if any very important affairs occur, which it is absolutely necessary to convey to the governor's office, let the petition be delivered to the senior Hong-merchants, or security-merchants, to present it for them. It is not allowed that foreigners should presume to go to the city gate, and present it themselves. If the senior merchant or security-merchant persist in intercepting it, and will not present it for them, so that foreign affairs cannot be stated to government, it is then permitted for foreigners to carry the petition to the city gate, and deliver it to the military officer on guard. When they present a petition, one or two foreigners only are allowed to proceed with it. They are not allowed to take a number of men with them, to blazon abroad the affair.

"If the business be of a common-place nature, and the Hong-merchants have not refused to present it for them, or the topic be one which it is improper to present, then the foreigner who shall perversely offend and take a number of people to the city gate to present a petition, that foreign merchant's trade shall forthwith be stopped one month, and he shall be disallowed to buy or sell any goods thereby to chastise his disrespect.

"Petitions concerning ordinary topics of trade must be presented at the hoppo's office. And ordinary petitions, concerning local occurrences, must be presented to the Macao Tung-che, or the Heangshan Hëen, or Macao Tso-tung; in all which cases it is allowed to appeal, as usual."

* Red chop.

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Appendix D.

DISPUTE WITH THE LOCAL AUTHORITIES.

The *Canton Register* of June 6 says:—Our present number is chiefly taken up with documents relating to the discussions between the Canton government and the British factory. We have nothing material to communicate, to assist in forming a judgment as to its probable termination, unless it be that a growing conviction of the unjustifiable nature of the proceedings which are complained of, appears to prevail in the minds of those Chinese, whose opinions we have an opportunity of knowing.

The Foo-yuen, following up his violent line of conduct, would not permit the Kwang-heep to present to him the address of the Select Committee, which, together with the factory keys, Mr. Lindsay had placed in his hands, on the 29th of May. The Committee being thus debarred from all means of communication with the government, resolved to put the Chinese public in possession of the facts of the case by a brief notification in the Chinese language; numerous copies of which, early on the morning of the 31st, were affixed to the walls, in various parts of the town, some even on the city-gate, and distributed on the same day among the Chinese merchants and shopkeepers of every description. The publicity thus given to the grounds of complaint has produced a great sensation, favourable (as far as can be ascertained) to the views of the Committee. That a rupture had at all occurred was before then but very partially known to the Chinese. The eyes of many are now opened to the disastrous consequences which may ensue. The Foo-yuen is blamed for his ignorance of the mode in which foreigners should be treated, and for not consulting with the treasurer and judge, the usual council of the governor, before his aggression on the Company's factory, in direct violation of a stipulation agreed to by the government in 1814, that the factories should be held inviolable.

It may be reasonably asked, why, if the Foo-yuen had received orders from the emperor, they were not published, and notice given of his determination to carry them into effect? or why render the act more insulting and offensive to foreigners, by the rude, clandestine mode of perpetrating it, and to avoid discussion on the subject, refuse petitions on all others.

These are questions to which the Chinese make no reply; even the Hong merchants being obliged to admit that reason is on the side of the foreigners.

On the morning after the notification was issued, the senior Hong merchant removed the Committee's address, with the factory keys from the consoo-house, where they had lain, and report states the former is now in the Foo-yuen's possession. This, however, is denied by the Hong merchants, who alledge that his Excellency is desirous to avoid all communication on the subject till the governor's return, to afford him an opportunity for explanation respecting the Committee's assertion of his having sanctioned the embankment of the mud-flat, which, if unexplained, might excite against him the Emperor's displeasure, when reported at Peking. But when it is considered that the two worthies are not on the most cordial terms, there seems much reason to question the sincerity of the motive attributed to the Foo-yuen. It is more probable that he wishes the affair to lie over, from feeling at a loss what course to pursue, an impression entertained by many Chinese who draw their inference from the fact of his having abstained all this time from carrying into effect several other orders which were reported to have been contained in the Emperor's secret dispatch. We may hope, therefore, the opposition he has met with has had a wholesome effect in moderating his outrageous zeal in the service of his imperial master.

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